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ART. I.—COMMERCE AND FINANCE IN HISTORY.—NO. II.

WE can only advert to the most noteworthy phenomena of the operation of Commerce and Finance in effectuating, or affecting, the grander changes of History, and then hurry on. It is worth inquiring—for we are not aware that the inquiry has ever been distinctly made—how far the long retention of power by Augustus, and his firm constitution of the Imperial Government, were favored by the stability which the Empire restored to the finances of Rome, by the encouragement which peace, under the strong arm of a military despot, extended to commerce, and by the security which it afforded to the industry and enterprise, cherished and recompensed by it. "*L'Empire, c'est la paix.*" The Empire of Augustus was the peace of the world. "*Pax Romana.*" The third closing of the Temple of Janus was no longer the trivial symbolism of the condition of a single city. It was a most serious and solemn event, and marks the completion of the first volume of the History of Humanity.

It is a proof of the profound implication of financial impulses with other causes of Civil War, that, after the overthrow of Antony, the restoration of domestic peace and the closing of the Temple of Janus, the value of property doubled at Rome, and the rate of interest fell to two-thirds of what it had recently been. With the decline of the Empire the rate of interest rose again to a frightful disproportion, as may be seen from the decrees of Constantine on the subject. The reign of Augustus, too, was as remarkable for the augmentation of public and private revenues, and for the multiplication of productions, as in France has been that of Louis Napoleon himself. Like Louis Napoleon, too, the Emperor Augustus diligently consulted the interests of his private fortune, as is evinced by the

anecdotes of Suetonius, and by the testimony of the Ancyran Inscription. In that memorable and instructive monument he punctiliously announces to posterity the vast sums which he had brought into the exhausted Treasury of the State; the large amount of taxes, dues, and benevolences which he had remitted; the ample expenditures devoted to public works; the liberal donations made by him to colonies and municipalities; and the numerous and bountiful distributions of subsistence and money bestowed upon the people from his public purse. The sums are all specified, with the precision of a transcript, from the account-books of a bank, but it would avail nothing to our purpose to report the figures here. If he had no *Crédit Mobilier* at his back, as the agent and screen of his financial schemes, he proved himself as able and successful a financier as Isaac, or Emile Póreiro, or any of the house of Abraham, and developed prodigiously the public revenues and his own. The marked prominence which is given by Augustus to the financial transactions of his long reign in the unique record of the Lapis Ancyranus, may assure us both of the financial disturbances which attended and preceded the long Civil Wars, and the immense financial, commercial, and industrial advancement which characterized the Empire. At any rate, this prominence reveals what was held to be in contemporary estimation, the principal claim of the Emperor on the gratitude of the Roman world, and what was the principal cause of that adhesion to his authority which rendered his sovereignty so acceptable and peaceful after the defeat and death of Antony. The suggestions of this lapidary testimony may also impress most strongly upon our minds the general importance of financial and commercial influences in History, and their special importance for the proper understanding of the movement which transmuted the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire.

"Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda, e passa."

We cannot discuss these great events, and their various causes; we can take only one hasty glance, and pass to other examples.

The immeasurable luxury and extravagance of the Romans, which were amazing under the latter Republic, but became almost incredible under the Empire, created a rapid and accelerating reflux of the tides of gold and silver to India, and the further East; and, while they impoverished the Roman world, and gradually denuded it of the precious metals, they ministered to that accumulation of metallic treasure in the countries beyond the Euphrates, which kindled the imagination

of the Orientals, blazes in the tales of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and excited the adventurous enterprise of the rising commerce of Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. The mines of Europe were exhausted, and in great measure abandoned, while this continued drain to Asia, and especially to India and China, was proceeding. The tide did not set westward again till the period of the Crusades. Then it infused life, and vigor, and health into the petty States of Italy; and, if it did not give birth to the Free Cities of that Peninsula, it certainly brought to them riches and prosperity; and bestowed power, and glory, and art, and letters, and refinement on Venice, and Pisa, and Genoa, and indirectly on Florence and Milan, and their brilliant contemporaries.

A long lapse of time had, however, intervened between the decline of the Roman Empire and the culmination of the Italian Republic. Nearly the whole breadth of the Dark Ages lies between these extremes. Nearly seven centuries passed between the extinction of the Western Empire and the return of wealth to Lombardy, Venetia, and Tuscany. They had been centuries of calamity and distress, of unproductive exertion, of brutal wars, and of penury, to the greater part of Western Europe. The stagnation of industry had been aggravated, if not also in large measure occasioned, by the excessive scarcity of the precious metals, and the absence of any other circulating medium, consequent upon the Roman exportation of gold and silver to the East, and the cessation of mining in the former auriferous and argentiferous regions of Europe. Moreover, along with this deficiency of the precious metals, commerce was impeded and trade confined within narrow boundaries. Unquestionably, the disintegration of States by Teutonic invasion; the comminution of populations by the action of the feudal system; the perils and uncertainties of communication, resulting from domestic wars and barbarian inroads, operated powerfully in suppressing commerce. But these potent causes operated in concurrence with the financial embarrassments engendered by the destitution of the precious metals, which prevailed throughout those troubled generations. The student of Gibbon, the reader of Savigny, Guizot, and Ozanam, is fully aware of the wretchedness attendant upon a failing revenue and declining incomes, which constituted the most general and notable phenomenon of the Roman Empire in its decay. He knows the miseries and oppressions which resulted from these influences. He is acquainted with the ostentatious poverty of the Emperors, and of the Imperial Treasury. He is cognizant of the unavoidable exactions by which the existence of land owners, and merchants, and arti-

sans, and cultivators of the soil, was rendered so intolerable that they fled from their estates to the barbarous hordes which encompassed the Empire on all sides, or welcomed their usurpations of Roman territory and Imperial jurisdiction; he remembers that the Empire was covered with Bagandæ—confederated beggars—and roving banditti; he calls to mind the swarms of mendicants who, from the Milvian Bridge or Golden Mile-Stone at Rome, radiated in all directions, and infested every church, monastery, or place of public concourse; and he understands the multiplication of eleemosynary institutions of all sorts, in consequence of the still greater augmentation of the helpless claimants of beneficent aid. The very name of Charity was in these ages perverted from its appropriate signification, of Christian love, to the mechanical routine of alms-giving, by the endless demands then presented for the dole of the compassionate. It would certainly be wrong to ascribe all these melancholy incidents of a dissolving civilization to the mere diminution of the money circulation of the Empire, or to the obstruction of commerce and industry, because these were themselves, in part, the effects of other co-existent causes. But the financial and commercial embarrassments of the time were assuredly among the most potent agencies in extending and deepening miseries, and in promoting the wretchedness by which they were themselves promoted. Causes seldom act singly in the great transactions of society, nor do they operate in a chain of undisturbed succession. They are usually conjoint in their origin, and conjoint in their operation; and, while operative, they act and react upon each other, modifying, at all times, both the effect produced and the degree and character of the several forces which conspire to the production of that effect. Hence arises the difficulty of discerning the true affiliation of events in History. Hence arises also the necessity of not ignoring the effectual action of any cause, because other causes are present and co-operating. Hence, too, arises the urgency of estimating all the concurrent causes, instead of being content with the easy but shallow procedure of accepting one as sufficient and exclusive.

The influences, whose action we have just been noting, continued to propagate their disastrous consequences throughout the decline of the Roman Empire, and long after the Empire of the West had been occupied by the rude and vigorous tribes of Germany. It was only by a slow and suffering experience that some vantage ground was gradually regained, and the new societies of Europe placed in a condition to provoke or profit by the changes which might re-open to that portion of the earth a career of advancement, distinction, and happiness.

But in Asia, whither the accumulated treasures of the Roman Republic and Empire had drifted, a new people—a nation previously unknown to fame—had gone forth conquering and to conquer; a mighty Empire had arisen, like an exhalation, or like the plague of frogs from the festering slime of the fertilizing Nile. It had fretted its hour upon the stage, and was already in the agonies of dissolution, when the arms of Europe were directed to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. The current of the precious metals, which had been setting Eastward so strongly under Hadrian and the Antonines, had communicated to the commerce and industry of the East that impulse and animation which its ebbing waters withdrew from the Western regions of the world. The Arabians profited by this change of the tide. They were in a position and in a condition to profit by it. We owe to the singular and unanticipated discoveries of very recent years the late explanation of the startling phenomena of Saracenic ascendancy, of Saracenic conquests, and of the Saracenic Empire. The exploration of Singhalese antiquities, and the detection of a long and ancient series of Singhalese records enable us at length to complete the solution of the triumph and career of Mahomet and his successor. When the Prophet of Islam appeared, and succeeded in uniting all the populations of the extensive peninsula of Arabia by presenting to them a novel creed, which could be accepted with enthusiasm by all, the Arabians of the coast had long been engaged in an increasing and prosperous commerce with India and China; with the Islands of Spice, and the lands of silk, and porcelain, and ebony, and sandalwood; with the regions of strange productions, and of rubies, emeralds and diamonds. Their eyes had been long opened by the magic salve of commerce to the knowledge of the wealth and wonders of the earth. The wild stories and wilder adventures of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments are filled with the glorified memories of this remote and ancient commerce, and like the legends which the merchants and travelers brought back from the distant lands visited by them. Ceylon was for ages the convenient station, midway between the extremes, where the Arabian merchants, from the Gulf Ormus all round the almost interminable shore to the Gulf of Akabah, gathered in crowds to exchange the products of Arabia Felix, and the commodities brought from the adjacent Continent of Africa and from the further west; for the various and valuable merchandize of the more distant Eastern world. How early this commerce had commenced there is as yet no means of ascertaining. Fragments of china are found amongst the earliest relics of Egyptian antiquity. Did they pass through the hands of Arabian traders?

The antiquity of Petra may furnish a delusive hint. But Arabian commerce was probably enlarged when Tyre and Sidon and the other Phœnician cities were overshadowed by the Babylonian Empire. It were probably further extended when Babylon sunk beneath the Persian arms, and when Egypt became a Persian province. The destruction of Tyre and the foundation of Alexandria would rather stimulate than impede this prosperous trade. The overthrow of Carthage by the Romans, perhaps, prevented its being wrested from Arabian hands, in consequence of Hanno's anticipation of Vasco di Gama's circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, by the establishment of an Ocean line of transportation round the Continent of Africa, seventeen centuries before this was achieved by the Portuguese. The epithet employed by Horace, in the reign of Augustus,

"Icci, beates Arabum invides
Gazis,"

ceases to be an unmeaning or poetic hyperbole, if the cities of littoral Arabia had been at that time enriched for eight hundred or a thousand years by an active and uninterrupted commerce with Cis-Gangetic and Frans-Gangetic India. This trade would be encouraged and its profits enhanced by the luxurious habits and gorgeous magnificence of the Romans under the Empire, and by that boundless expenditure and unmitigated display which increased with the increase of private fortunes and with the concomitant decline of this Empire itself. All the accumulated wealth of the previously civilized kingdoms, republics, and powers of the earth had been appropriated by the long course of Roman conquest and the avidity of Roman plunder: and all that survived the waste of centuries returned in the direction from which it had come, and furnished forth the motive-power for Eastern industry, and the reward for the still-growing Arabian commerce. This must have been stimulated and recompensed still further when the caravan routes were impeded and rendered hazardous by Parthian and Turcoman incursions, by revolutions, disturbances and dissensions, in Persia; and by the long wars between Persia and the Roman Empire, from the reign of Trajan, and especially from that of Diocletian. The early career of Mahomet, as a wandering merchant,—a daring adventurer, half-military, half-mercantile,—is only a typical illustration of the character of that carrying-trade by the internal routes which had fallen into the hands of the Arabians, co-incidentally with the expansion of their maritime transactions, in consequence of the contemporaneous condition of the great monarchies of the world.

In this series of changes, proceeding continuously through many centuries,—in this gravitation of commerce, and of the metallic basis of commerce, to the cities of Arabia, we find an explanation of the rapidness and development of the Saracenic power, and an evidence of the long discipline and preparation by which the Arabian tribes were trained for their sudden and dazzling career. All that was wanting was the fire from heaven to fuse together the disconnected elements of a great and wealthy nationality, and to crystallize them into a solid and definite form. This vital spark was communicated by the simple creed of Mahomet, which furnished a common faith and inspired a common effort—which brought together and animated all the previously dissociated forces of wealth and energy,—adventure, numbers, industry, and commerce,—and, by the suddenness and completeness of the union, launched on the arena of History a nation, irresistible in its youth, enjoying, and fitted to enjoy from the commencement all the fruits of an advanced civilization; capable of perpetuating and of extending that civilization while the Western and European populations were sunk in lethargy, or struggling with barbarism. The rapid rise, and instantaneous wealth of the successive capitals of the Caliphate—Cufa, Bassora, and Bagdat, and afterwards of Cairo—was due to the translation of the lines of commerce, along with the seat of Empire, to more favored localities. Hence, too, it is that Arabia itself counts for so little in the development of the Empire, after the institution of the Empire by the successive of the early fanatical Caliphs. But, as that Empire extended its conquests in the North, and East, and West, and became tranquillized and consolidated, the trade, and with it the circulating medium accumulated in the East, returned gradually to the ancient routes, and was concentrated once more on the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile.

It is needless to follow the phases through which the Caliphate passed in its maturity and in its decline. We cannot yield to the temptation of lingering around

"A goodly place, a goodly time,
When it was in the golden prime
Of good Haroun Alraschid."

It is equally unnecessary to point out the influence exercised by the Caliphate upon the commerce and revenues of the Byzantine Empire. These wide topics might furnish abundant and suggestive illustration of the action of these great motive powers in determining the prosperous and adverse fortunes of states; but they cannot be admitted into these hasty deliberations, and the inquiry must be renounced.

The Western conquests of the Saracens drew in their wake a portion of the wealth, and of the sources of wealth, which had helped to generate the first manifestation of Saracenic supremacy. The Saracenic victories, and the migrations of mingled warriors and traders, which constituted Saracenic conquest, led back a portion of the wealth of Asia and of the world through Cairo and Cairnan, to Seville and Cordova, and the fertile valley of the romantic Guadalquivir. As the Eastern Caliphate declined, and was rent in pieces by internal feuds, or Tartar encroachments, the Ommiad Caliphate in Andalusia received a large share of the genial influences, and rose in power, splendor, magnificence, industry, commerce, arts, letters, and refinement. Thus a new turn in the tide of trade initiated by foreign hands the restoration to Europe of the wealth which in antecedent ages had been exported to the East.

The effect which was produced upon the rising nations of modern Europe by the example and contagion of the Saracens of Spain has been often, though scarcely sufficiently, exhibited in general and special histories of the Middle Ages, in numerous essays, and in many incidental notices. But the example could operate only feebly and slowly until commerce was revived by some powerful incentive, and until an accession was made to the almost exhausted store of the precious metals, adequate to the purchase of raw materials and other commodities, and to the employment of labor. When the grand and beautiful cathedrals of England were built, the customary wages of the laborer were only a penny a day. The scarcity of money was so great as to be scarcely conceivable now. We are informed by Roger de Hoveden, in 1194, therefore when industry had decidedly revived, that "The price set upon a bull shall be four shillings, and upon a cow the same, upon a plough-horse the same, upon a sheep with fine wool ten pence, upon a sheep with coarse wool six pence, upon a sow twelve pence, and upon a boar twelve pence." These valuations are contained in the instructions prescribed to the first justices in Eyre, commissioned in England. But in the Byzantine Empire, which was within the sphere of commerce and nearer to the wealth of Asia, prices varied but little during the four or five centuries which followed the division of the Empire. For many centuries the Bezants of Constantinople furnished all the coin of the Christian nations of Western Europe—and their whole amount of coin, hoarded or in circulation, has been largely estimated at \$160,000,000. "Britain, especially, was so exhausted of the precious metals in the form of money that, in trafficking, what the Saxon writers call living money was usual and legal." "This consisted of slaves and

cattle of all kinds, which had a value set upon them by law, at which they passed current in the payment of debts, and the purchase of commodities of all kinds." (*Price. Inquiry into the Precious Metals. Vol. I. p. 313.*) But, besides the need of a circulating medium, there was also a further necessity before either trade or industry would flourish. A considerable enlargement of chattel property was required, in order that it might become of sufficiently general importance to secure its protection by the State against the lawless or legalized rapacity of feudal barons and roving banditti. And an increase of both property and currency was essential before the regal or public revenues became adequate to the maintenance of any regular system of police, or to the establishment of a truly national judiciary. Such resources were only painfully and gradually acquired by the state, as the multiplying interests of the people and their augmented products rendered sensible the need of such security, and enabled the community to provide or the sovereign to exact the means for their support. The history of Europe from the close of the Eleventh to the commencement of the Fifteenth Century is filled with startling transactions and wide-spread mutations, which remain unintelligible till their solution is sought in the concomitant movements of trade, industry, and finance.

The Crusades did not merely animate the enthusiasm of the Christian populations of Europe, and reveal to them the sense of a common interest, a common civilization, a common destiny, and a common faith, through the presentation of a common religious aim; but they revived the trade of Europe with Asia and the East; they re-animated the long-languishing commerce of Europe, they recalled the long-lost treasure; and, by these means, stimulated all the branches of industry, and roused both the dormant sentiment of art, and the desires of improved political and social condition.

Thus we may refer to these erratic but chivalrous enterprises, undertaken under the inspiration of an ardent passion, which was more sagacious than any cool contemporary reason, and more profound than most retrospective criticism, both the communication of the motive power to modern industry and the accumulation of the means by which that industry was sustained and developed. The commerce of the maritime States of Italy, which was cherished and augmented by those oft-repeated expeditions, and by the constitution of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, revived industry throughout the European nations, established Lombard bankers and brokers in all the principal cities, and generated a daily growing internal trade, with a daily increasing circle of manufactures. This is, however, only one of

the many phases of advancement thus engendered, and one of the earliest.

It is neither an accident, nor a phenomenon unconnected with the commercial impulses due to the Crusades, that those Crusading Centuries were distinguished by a new and brilliant display of philosophical genius, and by a rapid development of liberal political sentiment. As the years passed on, and the first re-action of the Crusades began to diffuse its influences, and to exercise a cumulative force on the contemporaneous generations, we witness the rise of the Free Cities of Italy and their splendid prosperity; the multiplication and growth of the Communes; the more varied and wider activity of all the industrial classes; the consolidation and regulation of the public authority; the crystallization of the loose feudal aggregations into definite nationalities; the augmentation of wealth and the comforts of life; and the revival of Letters and the Fine Arts. To this period belong the commencements of nearly all our modern Literatures; to these generations appertain the beginning, if not the completion, of all the noblest Cathedrals, Churches, Monasteries and Hotels de Ville, which exhibit the grace and grandeur of Gothic architecture. Let it be repeated, however, that these results are not attributed, immediately or exclusively, or, in all cases, principally even, to the financial and commercial stimulation generated by the Crusades. In many instances they were only secondary effects, in some, they were deduced by a long and circuitous process of derivation. As has been already remarked, few great mutations in social or political conditions can be ascribed to any solitary cause. The ulterior consequences are produced by the co-ordination of the numerous series of intermediate causes, which have called into existence and action by, or coincidently with, the first moving cause—the *primum mobile*—and its dependent influences. Still, though the ultimate results spring from many concurrent impulses, as all of those impulses received a part of their being, or of their energy, from the primary momentum impressed, it is just to regard that original and continuously-transmitted pressure as an important member of the chain of causation. It is, consequently, injudicious and delusive, in the highest degree, to omit or overlook all consideration of its potency, in the study of the remote developments which have proceeded principally, or partially, from it.

As time wore on, and other generations sunk, overpowered by the burdens of life, and transmitted the duties of life to still succeeding generations, the same forces, gathering strength with time and with the progress of their action—*vires acquirit eundo*—and moving along the same line of action, to the production

of ampler, but analogous effects, occasioned new revolutions in society and new phenomena in political affairs. We do not remember ever to have seen attention distinctly called, in any professed history, to that surprising explosion of democratic sentiment, that insatiable appetency for republican institutions, that singular concurrence of popular revolutions, which so signally characterized the Fourteenth Century. The march of Democracy was as plainly and generally manifested in that period as during the French Revolution and the passing Nineteenth Century. The incidents of those times, furnish as abundant material for the philosophical reflections of an Alexis De Tocqueville as Democracy in America, or the Democratic movement in Europe. Cola di Rienzi and Philip Van Artevelde have inspired English poets and novelists, as well as foreign authors, by the meteoric brilliancy of their revolutionary career. James Van Artevelde has, in some degree, participated in the literary prominence of his younger and less illustrious kinsman. But, except in the notes to Burke's Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, in a reference of Coleridge to Burke's note, and in Stephen's Lectures on the History of France, there is no appearance of the profound political convulsion which is represented by the career of Marcel in Paris. When shall we look for any truly philosophical or historical appreciation of the wide-spread insurrection of the Jacquerie in France? When shall we look for any satisfactory explanation of the disturbances headed by Wat Tyler in England?—disturbances which had been foreshadowed and prepared by the political faction of John of Gaunt, and by the religious innovations of Robert Greathead and John Wickliffe. We do not overlook the establishment of the Confederation of the Swiss Republics, because this manifestation of the Democratic tendency was mainly due to special causes, and because this subject has been fully treated by the historians of Switzerland.

Confining our attention to the other instances noted, we observe commotions, of a similar character, simultaneously pervading Italy, France, the Netherlands and England; and Germany and Spain might, perhaps, be added to the list. There must have been some community of impulse in their production, some conjunction of like forces throughout Western Europe, to occasion this peculiar and premature set of political currents in the same direction. The Democratic tendency of the times is abundantly revealed in the phenomena. But the Democratic tendency affords no explanation, because it is the thing to be explained. The recent and progressive emancipation of the serfs furnishes a part of the solution, but not the whole, and itself requires interpretation. That emancipation

had not been effected by legislative enactments : for every legislative tentative had been met with indignant protests and resolute resistance. It had been silently and gradually brought about by ecclesiastical influences, and by the recognition of the unprofitable expense of serf labor, and by experience of the increasing efficiency and economy of free labor. That is to say, the social condition was changing, and changing under the influence of more active industry, more zealous competition, more enriching trade and a more intense stimulation of money. The fervent prosecution of Alchemy, and the anxious search for the Philosopher's Stone, indicated both the urgent need of gold and a lively perception of its increased uses. But the social state was more profoundly affected than even these manifestations reveal. We have some experience, at this time, of the mode in which the abrogation of slavery causes, as its first effect, a multiplication of the miseries of the recent slaves and an increased destitution among the poorer members of the rest of the laboring population. But we have not yet fully discerned how these afflictions are aggravated by a concurrent expansion of the volume of circulation, and by a contemporaneous expansion of the metallic currency of the world, by the yearly accretion of the precious metals. The last of these topics, in its most obvious aspects, has only within the late months exercised the anxious inquiries of reflective and practical men in Europe. Such considerations have not yet been suggested in connection with the extraordinary outburst of the revolutionary spirit in the Fourteenth Century. And yet, it seems to us, that, if due attention had been paid to the movements of commerce and finance, in the composition and interpretation of History, it would have been discovered that the social and political phenomena of that agitated period, were due, in the main, to the social discords which had been generated by the amazing commercial and financial advancement of that and the preceding ages.

If not a familiar observation, it is one whose truth will be instantaneously recognized, that periods of sudden manufacturing, commercial and monetary prosperity are not favorable to the stability of governments, the tranquility of society, or the well-being of the poorer members of the community. The routine of generations is broken up ; the channels of business are deranged and violently altered ; prices rise, and wages do not rise in proportion ; or, the wages of labor rise out of proportion to the price of other things ; there is a progressive fall in the power of money, if not always in its apparent value ; the burden of these changes weighs ruinously upon certain classes of the population, while it elevates, in a more than cor-

responding degree, the profits and fortunes of others. Everything is disordered. The times are out of joint; the waters have overflowed their banks; the landmarks are submerged and swept away; the torrent rolls on, gathering force and depth as it rolls; it hurries on, to their speedily-reached goal, those who can ride on the crest of the flood and preserve their steerage in the midst of the deluge; it drowns, mangles, or casts lifeless on the strand, those who attempt to resist the inundation, who endeavor to wade where formerly they walked dry-shod, or who stand idle and unmoving in perplexity and despair. If the advantages of a sudden enhancement of prosperity could be equitably distributed throughout the whole of the population, none of these results would occur. But this is impracticable, or if not positively impracticable, is contrary to all experience. In point of fact, the greater and the more rapid is the augmentation of wealth in such memorable eras,—and we are at this time passing through one of them,—the greater is the inequality and disproportion of the benefits which flow from it, the larger and the more sudden become the fortunes of those who acquire wealth, the more grinding and intolerable become the distress and the penury of those whose character or condition disables them from riding on the whirlwind when there is no chance of directing the storm. A profound infraction of the social continuity ensues. The chasm which divorces the rich becoming richer from the poor becoming poorer widens and deepens every day. Unusual bitterness between classes is generated by this vast disproportion of wealth; because, to most of the sufferers, it appears to have been effectuated either by the fraud or extortion of those who prosper, or to be owing to the wildest and most immoral caprice of destiny. The respect for property is entirely destroyed, both by the acrimony thus generated and by the disturbance of all settled notions in regard to the legitimate modes of accumulation by the patient industry and long-continued exertions of successive generations. Wealth ceases to represent labor and frugality, and comes to represent adventurous audacity, accident, greed, rapacity, or dishonesty, in popular estimation. This feeling is further inflamed by the contemplation of the character of many of the favourites of fortune, and by contrasting that character with the innocent dispositions and blameless manners of many of her discarded and disinherited children, who have been crushed to the common level by the displacement of the weights in the balance. Hence arise social discord, desire of innovation, disregard of ancient laws, prescriptive usages and settled rights. Hence proceed democratic aspirations, with the prospect of agrarian license, insurrection, and revolt—tending to revolution, but not always achieving it.

This is a very hasty and insufficient indication of the character of those mighty forces which were operating throughout Europe during the ages of reviving commerce and industry, and which eventuated in the republican fervour and democratic explosions of the Fourteenth Century. Hasty and imperfect we are obliged to leave them, because we are not explaining the historical phenomena of the times, but are simply illustrating the action of commerce and finance in causing and shaping the phases of History. If the solution presented in this and in previous instances approximates to the truth, the necessity of a diligent study of these complicated and wide-ramifying influences in any satisfactory history is at once made manifest, and a more comprehensive, as well as more practical interest is communicated at once to historical studies. It may be added, moreover, that the significances of these forms of human activity and development lose their narrow and special characteristics when viewed in this aspect, and are raised to a much higher dignity when regarded as amongst the potent agencies in fashioning the condition of societies and in regulating the destinies of nations.

Infinitely various are the forms which the operation of these great motive powers assumes: and the change of form is perhaps most marked in passing from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century. The revolutionary tendency, which has just been noticed as characteristic of the former of these ages, passed away as soon as the social equilibrium was in some degree restored by the more equable diffusion of the benefits arising from the spreading commerce and more productive industry of renascent civilization. In connection with the subject of our study, the most important phenomenon of the latter age was the discovery and development of the mines of Mexico and Peru. It is almost superfluous to point out how the wealth of these mines was won in consequence of the maritime adventure and spirit of geographical discovery which constituted the distinguishing features of the Fifteenth Century. And it would be equally superfluous to dilate upon the fact that this adventure and these discoveries had been instigated by the antecedent stimulus given to commercial enterprise. Thus, again, commerce is seen to be a principal motive power in accomplishing those grand national mutations which History commemorates: and thus, again, commerce is the occasion of inaugurating a financial revolution which alters the whole economy of the world, and modifies both the internal and the external relations of all civilized States. Let it not be objected that the results attained were not contemplated in the prosecution of those plans which became their cause, that the mines of Mexico

and Peru were undreamt of by Columbus and Vasco di Gama and Don Henry of Portugal. This is true; just as true as that the advancement of industry and commerce, and the disenfranchisement of the masses throughout Europe, were unimagined in the heroic fervor of the Crusades. But this is the law of life, and the law of social progress. The ultimate issues are unseen by the agents in their production. Step by step they proceed to the accomplishment of definite objects immediately desired; the indefinite objects, unanticipated and unthought of, which are found in the retrospect to have been achieved, are more numerous and incomparably grander than all that had been distinctly contemplated in advance. We are all led by certain desires towards uncertain ends; a larger wisdom than man's sagacity, a loftier aim than human appetency, shapes the destinies of individuals and of nations. The sum of the issues that will eventuate from any course of social action cannot be foretold, but when the fulness of time has come, and their accomplishment can be at length studied in the past, then they may be explained and referred to their due causes. It is a narrow intellect and a most restricted vision which are unable to see what they were unable to foresee.

The opening of the mines of Mexico and Peru, and the influx of the precious metals into Spain, and through Spain into the other countries of Western Europe, produced a gradual, but general, revolution in finance, commerce, industry, manufactures, and in all the forms of public policy, and all the conditions of social existence. We are obliged to abridge even our brief notices, and to bring our hasty illustrations to an abrupt conclusion. We shall not—we cannot—occupy the brief remainder of this paper in exhibiting the mode in which these fresh tides of gold and silver operated in stimulating the lust of universal dominion in Charles V. and Philip II., and in sustaining their assaults upon the liberties of Europe. We may not explain how they concurred in both provoking and upholding the resistance of the United Provinces; how they instigated and sustained the heroic warfare of Elizabeth and the rising navy of England against Philip and the Spanish Armada; how they became implicated with the wars of the Reformation; how they disturbed the finances of States, and affected the necessities, the revenues, and the policy of princes. We cannot show their connection with either the glories or the embarrassments of the reign of the Maiden Queen, with the contentions of the Stuarts and their Parliaments, with the great Rebellion, the ascendancy of Oliver Cromwell, and the Restoration of Charles II. The whole constitution of society throughout Europe, the whole order of industry, the public economy, the

relations of sovereigns to their subjects and of nations to each other, were profoundly disturbed and modified by this enormous accession of the precious metals to the treasure of the civilized world. The depression of the ancient dominations, the elevation of unanticipated powers, the rise of new States, the aggrandizement of obscure potentates, internal discords, revolutions and foreign wars, were all partially generated by this impulse. Nor did the agitation of the waters subside entirely till after the Treaty of Utrecht. Even then the movement so strongly communicated was propagated in altered forms. The struggle for commercial ascendancy ensued upon the temporary restoration of the equilibrium of currency. The contests between England and France and Spain, for colonial empire, were deflections of the ancient current, rather than wholly new currents, and substituted commercial for purely financial phenomena. Thence grew the American Revolution, and from the American Revolution the French Revolution and the Empire of Napoleon.

The exile of Napoleon to St. Helena and the Treaty of Vienna restored peace, if not tranquility, to Europe for more than thirty years. During this interval the re-discovery of the gold mines of the world relieved the increasing restriction of the monetary circulation of Europe, and favoured the expansion of the trade and manufactures of England and of the United States. But it afforded neither prognostication nor illustration of the profound effects which were to result from the discovery and development of the gold mines of California and Australia.

We are now living in the midst of the confusion and disturbance resulting from this vast and sudden augmentation of the metallic treasure of the world. In the din and hurry of events, we are unable as yet to appreciate either the extent or the exact character of the commotion excited. Nor can any cool or precise estimation be yet attempted, because the evolution of the effects is only incipient, and because the new sources of the precious metals are not yet fully explored, as every year adds fresh auriferous realms to the amazing production of those previously in operation. But we may be assured that we have re-entered, under ampler auspices and a mightier exertion of similar forces, upon the path which was traversed by the nations of Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, and may anticipate analogous changes, though in grander proportions and with accelerated velocity.

We know that nearly all prices are enhanced—that incomes cannot now command the same relative enjoyments which equal revenues did in former years. We know that the rapidity with which fortunes are acquired, and their magni-

tude are wonderfully increased; that the chasm between the rich and the poor widens every day; that small capitals are becoming more and more impotent in the hands of their owners; that private fortunes are becoming consolidated into corporate capitals, that numberless enterprises of vast and perilous range are daily undertaken, and are pushing improvements, commerce, and manufactures into the remotest regions of the earth, and into its most secluded corners. We apprehend, with an instinctive shudder, that both societies and governments are convulsed and throbbing with the agony of a complete transformation. We discern the spectral phantoms of mighty, but yet undetermined, changes—which are preparing to transmute present forms and types of existence into other and ampler shapes. But all is still indistinct—"without form and void—and darkness is upon the face of the deep." By most persons the disturbance of forces, elements and organizations, is rather recognized by a vague feeling of discomposure and dread, than by any clear understanding of the mutation in progress. Dim and formless as the rising creations still are, the throes which precede and accompany their nativity are thrilling through the whole framework of the civilized world. Their completion must precede their adequate interpretation. All that can now be done is to recognize the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, and the immediate dependence of this portentous commotion upon the increased production of the precious metals by the discovery of the auriferous wealth of California and Australia, and therefore upon financial stimulation. Having done this, we shall be enabled to sympathize with and to acquiesce in the prescient sagacity of the Poet of the passing age:

"Even now we hear with inward strife

A motion toiling in the gloom—

The Spirit of the years to come

Yearning to mix himself with Life.

"A slow developed strength awaits

Completion in a painful school;

Phantoms of other forms of rule,

New Majesties of mighty States—

"The warders of the growing hour,

But vague in vapor, hard to mark:

And round them sea and air are dark

With great contrivances of Power."

ART. II.—THE POLITICAL CRISIS. DUTIES OF THE HOUR.

IN the present anomalous condition of our country, what course do wisdom and policy demand of those to whom the management of public affairs is committed? Two principal plans have been proposed, as widely divergent as opposite points of the compass. The tendency of the one is conciliating, that of the other exasperative. One of the two must eventually prevail, and it can hardly be a matter of indifference which becomes effective; for there is scarcely an individual within the bounds of our country, however humble or obscure he may be, who will not be to some extent affected by the result; while every great and commanding public or private enterprise, and, indeed, the welfare of the entire nation are vitally concerned in the issue. Let us endeavor to take a calm and dispassionate view of the subject, unbiassed by party prejudice or sectional animosities. Let us candidly consider what counsels are best and safest in our present emergency.

As a nation we have just passed through an ordeal which has no parallel in the history of the world. No government was ever yet so formidably assailed, no rebellion was ever so systematically, so perseveringly conducted, and with such gigantic means, such devoted energy, such deliberate purpose; and yet no government was ever yet so signally triumphant—no rebellion was ever more thoroughly suppressed. For years which embrace the personal recollections of most men now living, a feeling of jealousy and enmity has been growing up between the two sections of our country—the North and South—and there have never been wanting evil-minded demagogues on either side to take advantage of every subject of discord, and by fair or foul means to aggravate its tendency and to exaggerate its importance, until it finally culminated in feelings of deadly hatred and a deliberate purpose of final and complete separation.

It has become fashionable at the North to hold the South wholly responsible for all the consequences that have resulted from this attempt at separation. The immense expenditure of treasure, the loss of productive industry, the destruction of public and private property, and those far greater and incomputable items—the corruption of morals, the sacrifice of life, the impairing of physical energies, and the sorrow and suffering of millions of bereaved and impoverished relations—all have been laid to the exclusive charge of the South, as if the North had been entirely blameless in the matter. But is this right? Is it just or reasonable? When we consider that the

South neither made nor attempted to make any aggressions on the rights or even the prejudices of the North, that she never assailed any of its principles or prerogatives, but acted only in defense of her own clearly defined constitutional rights; that she was for years the victim of hostile and invidious legislation, that an institution in which most of her wealth was involved, which was deemed essential to her prosperity, and which was, moreover, guaranteed to her by the solemn compacts of a Constitution which ought to have been respected by the North as well as the South, was assailed by every lawful and unlawful means with which responsible and irresponsible agents could reach it; when we consider that she was reviled and persecuted, that the best and wisest of her sons were insulted, maligned and vituperated with a virulence that has no precedent in the English language, and that these assaults formed the staple of harangues in popular and religious convocations, in public assemblies and private circles, in the substantial as well as ephemeral literature of the North, all repeated through a long series of years, growing more vindictive and fiendish with every repetition; when we consider these things, it must be admitted that the South was not without provocation in taking that course which many of her people thought, and honestly believed, to be the only course which could secure them in the peaceable enjoyment of their own rights. They declared themselves absolved from the political compact that bound them to the Federal Union, and however mistaken they may have been in fact, it may fairly be claimed for them that, in seeking this remedy, —a peaceful separation, which the theory of our government admits to be the inalienable right of an oppressed people—they should at least be held excused, if not justified.

True, it is claimed that the South never has been oppressed, and I am free to admit that in my opinion her oppressions were never such as to justify a dissolution of the Union. But no one will contend that she has had no cause of complaint, and we know of no rule that should authorize her bitterly vindictive opponent to determine the amount of oppression which would justify her in resorting to even forcible means, if necessary, to obtain redress from the wrongs which that opponent was so maliciously bent upon inflicting. She was undeniably forced into a defensive position, and may be excused if her judgment was somewhat biased when adjudicating her own cause. It may further be plead in her excuse that the war which followed was not of her choosing. A necessary consequence it doubtless was of her own act; and yet it was the opinion of many of her prominent men, and the ardent wish of all, that the North would willingly acquiesce in a dissolution

of that Union which had become so extremely distasteful to both sections.

It may be a matter of little or no moment, though perhaps not improper to state, that for one we never indulged in anticipations of a peaceful dissolution of the Union, and that firm principle and policy were opposed to secession. Entertaining for the American Union a profound reverence, the result of education and reflection; foreseeing for it a destiny of glory and grandeur, proudly pre-eminent among earth's greatest nationalities; and having, moreover, no extravagant faith in the ability of any fractional part of a dissevered government to attain to even a secondary position in the family of nations, we could not but feel that every thing which a people ought to prize was placed in jeopardy by the first overt act of hostility, and that all our dreams of national aggrandizement were from that moment doomed to disappointment. But, seriously as we deprecated the course pursued, we were by no means disposed to pass indiscriminate censure upon those who thought and felt differently. Among the elements that were operative in the attempt at dissolution, there was doubtless much of passion and prejudice, but these were not the spontaneous growth of the South, and there was certainly not wanting a far higher and nobler sentiment.

But, whether right or wrong, there can be no difference of opinion as to the nature or extent of that terrible retribution which the South has suffered. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the effects of the late desolating war. Where five years ago every thing wore the cheerful aspect of affluence and refinement, where happiness and prosperity abounded, where were apparent domestic and social amenities such as can scarcely be found in any other portion of men's earthly heritage, there is now desolation, poverty, sorrow and suffering; fields are lying waste and unfenced that were then teeming with rich abundance; heaps of ashes and naked chimneys now mark the sites of thousands of splendid dwellings; hopeless misery and helpless despair now brood in sullen silence where but recently princely hospitality and every social and domestic virtue were found in their most attractive forms. In fact, in almost every part of the South the march of hostile armies, the deadly carnage of fiercely contested battles, and all the horrors and devastations of ruthless war may be traced in ruins, blood, and new-made graves. Admit, if you please, that the South was wrong; but has she not suffered a sufficient atonement? Could Christian charity, could refined humanity, could even justice itself demand more of those so severely chastened and scourged? Is it not, then, manifestly the dictate

of every feeling and principle that ought to control the actions of a refined and Christianized people to extend a lenient policy to those who were lately in arms against the Government?

But setting aside every consideration of feeling and equity, let us view the subject as a question of political economy. The natural resources of the States lately in rebellion are unsurpassed in richness and variety by any equal extent of territory on the face of the globe. They abound in almost every valuable mineral, and nothing is wanting but the fostering encouragement of a liberal government to make them a source of individual wealth and of large public revenue. The leading agricultural productions are all of a kind that enter largely into the commerce between this and other nations. Their extent is such as to control the markets of the world, and some of them are almost without any competition. With all the resources of these States developed to their utmost capacity, there is no section of our widely extended country that would contribute in an equal degree to the prosperity of the whole or to the reduction of our enormous public debt. Cramped and crippled as these States now are, by the effects of a gigantic and devastating war, they are in a condition to contribute but little to the relief of the public burden; and, with the unfriendly policy marked out by some of the leading politicians of the North, there is hardly a chance of their doing more for years to come. If kept in a state of territorial vassalage, with unfriendly denunciations continually thundered in their ears, and prosecutions and confiscations held *in terrorem* over them, the owners of the soil have but little encouragement to invest either their energies, or the little that is left them of their former ample means, for the development of that boundless hidden wealth that might contribute so materially to our national prosperity.

We confess ourselves unable to appreciate the force of those arguments which urge a vindictive policy toward the Southern States. It certainly cannot be defended on the score of magnanimity nor humanity, its justice is by no means self-evident, and it appears to me to be subversive of the dignity and true interests of the country. Those States have done what they could to repudiate the errors by which they were led astray. There is scarcely a man in all the South who is not willing to take the oath of allegiance, and with an honest purpose, too, of keeping it inviolate, and of becoming a loyal and useful citizen of the United States. The stern logic of the late war, if it has not corrected entirely the prevailing fallacy by which these States were led into rebellion, has at least convinced every one of the absolute necessity of submission to a government so prompt and able to vindicate its authority. Every one is ready

to acquiesce in the results of the war, and to accept its decisions as final and irrevocable, and it needs only a kind and magnanimous policy on the part of the North to render that acquiescence cheerful, and to restore the Union on a firmer basis and with a far more cordial fellowship than ever before existed. The prime cause of all our former enmities and bickerings is now removed, and by that removal the South has been reduced to a condition that appeals strongly to the sympathy of every heart not actuated by purely vindictive sentiments. With the extinction of slavery the resources of every one have been more or less crippled, while with many it has involved the loss of their entire wealth, and reduced them, as it were in a moment, from affluence to poverty. But, great as is their loss in a pecuniary point of view, scarce a murmur is heard at the result, and nothing is now wanting but kindness and conciliation, on the part of those who can well afford to manifest those generous qualities, in order to convert this present calamity into a signal and lasting blessing.

It is fortunate for the country that we have at the head of our affairs a man who is well qualified to grapple with the emergencies of the times, one who has the wisdom to comprehend the requirements of this anomalous condition, and in whom are united that sterling honesty of purpose, that sincere devotion to the public welfare, and that firmness in the discharge of a high and honorable trust which will carry him triumphantly and honorably through the responsibilities of that high trust. The history of nations has furnished but few political problems of such difficult solution as the one presented in the present crisis of our affairs. To work out this problem successfully requires a high order of statesmanship. Had the selection of a Chief Magistrate been made with a view to such a contingency it is quite probable that Andrew Johnson might have been left in the quiet walks of private life. The strange vicissitude, therefore, by which he was raised to that high station, is well calculated to confirm the faith of those who recognize an over-ruling Providence in the management of our public affairs. For the course he has marked out, and the firmness and perseverance thus far manifested in his efforts to reconstruct the Government, and to restore peace, happiness and prosperity to our distracted country, seem to designate him as peculiarly fitted for that arduous duty. Indeed, the strange combination of circumstances by which he was raised to the position he now occupies, the singular fortuity by which every other part of those wicked schemes by which he was so unexpectedly elevated were frustrated, have worked out a result so signally adopted to the exigencies of the times, that it would

seem almost impious to doubt the interposition of a super-human agency.

But will the President be able to contend successfully against the factious opposition of the bigoted radicals, who can neither comprehend the wisdom nor appreciate the magnanimity of his policy? His course is doubtless beset with many embarrassments, and no means which malicious ingenuity can suggest will be spared to defeat his patriotic designs; but we have faith in his sterling integrity of purpose, and would not distrust the beneficent designs of that Providence which has hitherto watched over the destinies of this nation. With the history of the past so fresh in our recollection, we need not be greatly troubled at the puny efforts of those who are striving with all their might to intensify and perpetuate the animosities that have hitherto been productive of so much evil. The result can hardly be doubtful; and yet the radical violence, the bitterness of party rumor and sectional hatred, by which the opposition in Congress is characterized, cannot fail to produce lasting mischief.

It is difficult to imagine what end the radicals in Congress propose to themselves by the course they are now pursuing. The good of the country is certainly lost sight of in their programme; for the true policy of any Government unquestionably is to conciliate its people and promote harmony and friendship among all; whereas, implacable enmity and blood-thirsty vindictiveness characterize all their measures relating to the South. It seems to be their leading desire to estrange, as far as possible, the two sections, and to render them even more hostile and odious to each other than they have ever before been. In their hatred of the South they seem to have mistaken severity and acrimonious zeal for wisdom and statesmanship—an error common to contracted minds. And yet there are not wanting among them men of intelligence, however much their deification of a single idea may have cramped and biased their judgment. One thing, however, is certain; if their aims are honorable and patriotic, they have read history to little purpose not to have discovered that a harsh, revengeful, vindictive policy never yet restored harmony to any people, never yet promoted the welfare of any nation, and never failed in disgrace and ruin to its authors. From such men as Senator Sumner and a few others a more enlightened course might have been expected, though the inevitable tendency of abolitionism seems ever to have been to denaturalize and inhumanize its victories. The antecedents of Stevens are said to have been such that nothing better could be expected of him. Suppose their places were now occupied by such men as Daniel

Webster and Henry Clay, and others of that illustrious galaxy that once adorned and honored our national councils. It needs but the simple mention of their names to suggest a magnanimity and wisdom commensurate with the greatness of the occasion—impossible for the mind to associate those names with that narrow, bigoted policy, by which spiteful demagogues are so ambitious to manifest their sectional prejudices.

Whatever excuse there may have been for bitterness of feeling and severity while the South occupied a position of hostility to the Union, no such excuse now exists, for the South has abandoned that position. She has shown every disposition to accept as final the decisions of the late war, and to submit uncomplainingly to her changed condition. The ordinance of secession has been everywhere revoked, the statutes of every State that had thus far had an opportunity of acting have been purged of every obnoxious act, their constitutions amended in conformity with the new order of things; and what shows still more conclusively her sincerity, she has called to offices of honor and trust, both in State and Federal affairs, only those who were known to be most favorable to the restoration and perpetuity of the Union. What more could be required of her? The North and West owe it to themselves and to the common good of the country, to repudiate those who are so fatally bent upon perpetuating those party and sectional animosities that have hitherto been so disastrous, and which can never result in any thing but evil.

ART. III.—PECUNIARY INDEPENDENCE—WHAT IS IT?

WE believe good men and bad men, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, Northerners and Southerners, all alike, desire to become at least moderately independent of their pecuniary circumstances.

The desire we think not only natural, but very meritorious. It incites to energy and industry, and promotes economy and frugality. In fact, without this universal desire, and the action it begets, society would stagnate and retrograde, and civilization gradually disappear. Were all content to live on the proceeds of the labor of their own hands, there would be very little work done by any; for no one would, by his own labor, be willing to produce more than the simplest necessities of life, in a society where all were poor and plain.

Yet while all desire to become independent, not one man in ten thousand understands what constitutes independence, nor what he is engaged in whilst successfully endeavoring to achieve independence.

As vulgarly understood, to be independent means to be able to live on the income of one's property without labor. The vulgar error consists in this, that men think that property or capital is productive, and begets income without robbing any one. "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise." Yet, cruel as the procedure is, it is our duty, in self vindication, to dispel the pleasing illusion that makes independent men, with pharasaical self-complacency, "thank God that they are not as other men."

Now, their property does not breed, does not increase of itself, but merely enables them to command the labor, or the results of the labor, of other people, without consuming or expending any part of that property. Property-holders, or capitalists, pay not a cent to the labor which they employ, or for any of the products of labor which they buy, so long as they do not expend more than their incomes.

Property-holders have nothing wherewith to pay the wages of labor, or to pay for anything they purchase, except their property; and so long as that remains intact, they are living without labor on the unrequited labor of other people. They are masters without slaves, and those who labor for them slaves without masters. Or rather, they are mere joint-owners of an undivided, undefinable interest in the laboring class. Whilst the laboring class, although slaves to the property-holding-class, have no particular individual masters. An ingenious Chancellor could readily divide the laboring-class among the capitalist-class, for a given amount of capital confers on its owner the command of a certain amount of labor. For example, a man worth twenty thousand dollars commands the labor of twenty human beings, taking them in families. The man worth forty thousand the labor of forty, and so on.

The man exerting himself to become independent is engaged in the slave trade. The man who has become independent is a slave-owner. We believe the usual appraisement of the value of a male adult immigrant is one thousand dollars. We think they are worth two thousand each. Worth to whom? Why to our property-holding-class, who at once command their labor for less than if they were imported from Africa, for free labor is cheaper than slave labor. But there never was, nor ever can be, any trade except the slave trade, simply because there is no *productive* or *valuable* property except property in man.

Yet there must ever be, in civilized society, masters and slaves, and it is better to be a master than a slave.

It is therefore right and meritorious to become independent, though we thereby become masters of our fellow men, and

can live without labor on the unrequited labor of other people. The relation of master and slave may be concealed from view, but can never be disrupted, so long as the few hold property and the many have none.

We are all struggling to acquire property that will give us the command or ownership of human labor. But men, no more than horses, are good to eat, and ownership of their labor is ownership of themselves.

Slavery and the Slave Trade are unavoidable, where property exists. Let the efforts of all good, wise, and practical men be directed, therefore, to devising some means to secure the better treatment of the laboring class by their masters, the property-holding-class. They are most cruelly treated now.

ART. IV.—THE CAUSES OF COMMERCIAL GREATNESS.

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIA TRADE.

It is nothing but the densest ignorance which congratulates itself upon a perpetuity of commercial greatness because it is now possessed of it. The inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Babylon, Thebes, Carthage, Rome, Athens, Alexandria,—all once seats of imperial power and renowned commercial magnificence,—thought themselves secure in the trade and commerce which had made them what they were. Babylon in the East, and Tyre in the West, for centuries monopolized the commerce of the East. Caravans from India traversed the deserts of Mesopotamia before Greece or Rome came into view. Carthage rose into commercial power by trade with the interior of Africa and by the gold and silver mines of Spain. After the destruction of Tyre, Alexandria became the great *entrepot* of ancient commerce, monopolizing the trade of Europe, Asia and Egypt. Indeed, the entire shores of the Mediterranean Sea have been dotted with grand and mighty cities. Where are they now? Why deserted? Does New York possess any elements of vitality more lasting than these cities enjoyed? Fine harbors do not make cities: The harbor of Tyre is to-day as good as when she was the *entrepot* of the commerce of the East Indies, when her ships went forth "even to the pillars of Hercules." Alexandria has a good harbor now, but no trade. Venice, Lisbon, Antwerp and Amsterdam have just as good facilities for trade as they had when they were respectively the leading cities of modern Europe. But why all these changes in commercial emporiums? The world surely is not governed by chance. The Great Creator of the Universe works by fixed and uniform laws, and it is the province of man to discover those laws and place himself in harmony with them. He then secures his own happiness as well as the advancement of science and civilization.

The wealth of a nation is that portion which is left of production over consumption, and it may be set down as a fact, that holds good throughout all history, that populations in temperate latitudes have never grown rich without tropical trade, unless they deprived a portion of society of the just rewards of their labor, by slavery, vassalage, or serfdom. The climatic necessities require that one portion of the year shall be mainly occupied in providing for the exigencies of the other portion. Besides, no commerce really can be said to exist between people that produce like results from their labor. The hatter does not trade with the hatter. The farmer of Illinois is not the patron of the farmer of Indiana. There must be dissimilarity of occupations and productions to form the basis of commerce. Without this essential element, there would have been no need of caravans, ships, canals, steamers, railroads and other agencies of commercial intercourse. This great and all-important fact should be kept steadily in view, and with it, as a key, we shall be able to unlock to our readers the theory of commerce and the secret of all the glory and the splendor of ancient emporiums of trade, as well as the cause of their downfall.

Europe, proper, possesses no tropical region. Hence her products are almost exclusively those of the temperate zone. Some of the islands of the Mediterranean do raise a few semi-tropical productions; but, as a general statement, it may be said that Europe is utterly deficient in those articles so essential to a high state of civilization and refinement. Asia Minor is similar in climatic characteristics to Europe. It occupies the same parallels of latitude, and, therefore, is not essentially dissimilar in its natural productions. On the Euphrates, it is believed, the great master race of mankind was created by the Maker of All, and from thence spread over the world. Babylon became the first great city of the East. Situated on the Euphrates, and only separated from India by Persia, she was the first seat of the East Indian commerce, the coveted prize of all the ancient and modern world. India has been the pivot upon which the wealth of the Eastern hemisphere has turned. As cities and nations have monopolized it they have risen to imperial splendor, and when they lost it, have at once fallen from their proud positions as the commercial emporiums of the world. Whatever commerce a city may have preserved, if it lacked the East India trade it lacked the one thing needful. The essential element of diversity of productions was wanting. The interchange of the commodities of the temperate for the tropical region is the only way, then, that a lucrative commerce can be established. No nation in a temperate latitude has ever made a mark in the world, by simply exchanging the ordinary productions of this latitude. If, for instance, the North American continent extended only to Mason & Dixon's line, we cannot conceive of our country differing essentially from Norway or Sweden, and hence it could only enjoy a limited commerce. The bulk of our trade is not with Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. These are comparatively unimportant countries to us, and

they might be buried out of sight, without affecting us materially ; for, as we go North, the power of production becomes feebler, and the surplus over-production less, until, finally, both cease altogether and man only produces enough for his own subsistence. As we go South the case is exactly reversed. Less and less labor is required to provide against climatic necessities, and hence the more is left for productive employment, and a large surplus, of course, exists over consumption. This surplus represents so much labor, and it is the foundation of all the capital and wealth of the world. From the earliest times the tropical regions of Asia were cultivated, and its manufactures produced by vassals, serfs, or slaves. These persons received but a small share of the products of their labor, and this being monopolized by the ruling classes in India, laid the foundation of that trade and commerce which has made that country famous as the source of wealth. When we consider that for centuries, over 150,000,000 of this subject-population have existed in India, under the most favorable circumstances of climate, and themselves enjoying only a moiety of the results of their incessant labor, we can easily understand that the apparently fabulous stories of "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind" were not entirely the result of gross exaggerations. We lay it down, therefore, as a proposition which is not susceptible of successful contradiction, *that the exchange of these East Indian or Asiatic productions has ever formed the basis of the lucrative commerce of Asia and Europe, and that no city in the Eastern Hemisphere ever rose to the rank of a first class commercial emporium without it.*

India or Hindostan is about the size of the entire area of the United States. From the earliest ages it has been densely populated, and is supposed now to contain 200,000,000 inhabitants. When we contrast this vast population with our meagre 30,000,000, and the great wealth we have accumulated, we can form some idea of the riches which this people might produce, if they were at all industrious. But when we consider that at least 150,000,000 of these are compelled to labor, and that a form of involuntary service has always existed in India, we can form some idea of the immense commercial results which that country has produced. Its surplus productions, both of raw and manufactured articles, have ever been enormous. In no place in the world would gold buy so much as in India. In other words, in no place was labor so cheap. Hence the articles brought from India yielded an enormous profit to those merchants or cities monopolizing them. We have no exact data upon which to base statements as to the profits of the India trade in ancient times. If we may believe the statements of Pliny, that India silk, sent to Rome, brought its weight in gold, we can form some idea of the profits of the Alexandria merchants who imported it. We have, however, very positive statistics of the first profits of the India trade to England. Mr. Thomas Mun, one of the first Directors of the first British East India Company, in a tract published in 1621, says that the amount of produce brought from India up to that time

had cost £366,288, and had been disposed of for the enormous and apparently impossible sum of £1,914,600, or five hundred per cent. more than cost! A nation that could monopolize such a trade as this, and lay the world under tribute to it in this way, would rapidly accumulate wealth.

The productions of India consist of cotton, calicoes, silks, pearls, drugs, porcelain, ivory, pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, indigo, balsams, precious stones, shawls, etc., etc. Her curious and exquisite productions of silks, shawls and cotton manufactures were fabricated almost as cheaply by hand as they have in modern times been furnished by machinery. When it is recollected that it required the most elaborate and intricate machinery, capable of performing the duties of an almost unlimited number of laborers, before Great Britain could compete with India in the commonest manufactured goods, we can form some idea of the cheapness of labor there, and the relation it bears to our labor. For the purpose of illustration, we will suppose that an article which it would require ten men here, each one day's labor to produce, is imported from India. There it cost only the price of one of our day's work; hence its advance in value, as soon as it is brought into our market, is that of nine days' labor, or nine hundred per cent.

It is thus seen that the cheapness of labor in any given locality becomes the gain of that locality, which secures the results of that labor for less than its equivalent, as compared with its own standard. If the labor of a white man in Great Britain and a coolie in Hindostan cost exactly the same there would be no profit in exchanging the result of the one for that of the other. It would be exactly similar to the old story of "swapping jackets;" but as the coolie in India lives on a few pounds of rice per year, and wears little or no clothing, and hence gets no pay for his labor, and as he works nearly the entire year round, while the laborer of Great Britain is, in all respects, the reverse of this, we see at once why the India trade is productive of wealth. Even if her productions cost the bullion, it is like the husbandman sowing seed in good ground—it will bring forth a hundred fold. Whether, therefore, we regard India in the light of her diversified and profuse tropical productions, which could be obtained by the ancient world from no other source, or whether we contemplate her as the earliest manufacturing locality, we see how, by the cheapness of her labor, she has ever contributed to add to the wealth of the world, and in fact, been the link necessary to complete the chain of lucrative commerce.

It will be impossible to fully understand the effect of the India trade without a glance at its history. First, it should be borne in mind that the shores of the Persian Gulf in the East, and of the Mediterranean Sea in the West, were, from the beginning of the world to the time of Christ, and for fifteen hundred years afterwards, the seat of all the important commerce of the world. Modern European commerce has all originated since the year 1500, and is therefore only 360 years old. For ages, therefore, in the past, the cities

of Assyria, of India, of Syria, of Egypt, of Arabia, of Carthage, of Rome, of Greece, etc., etc., have been from time to time the seats of commercial power and wealth, and have arisen when the laws of trade have been complied with, or fallen when they have been disregarded. It is quite certain that the ancient Assyrian Empire, of which Nineveh and Babylon were the principal cities, was the first nation that enjoyed the East India trade. Both were situated upon rivers that flowed into the Persian Gulf, and they were connected by canals which evinced a superior knowledge of the principles of hydraulics. Roads for caravans were constructed across the desert and united Phœnicia and Palestine with Babylon. There were several of these roads leading in different directions. The one to the East, a celebrated military and commercial road described by Herodotus, led from Sardis to Susa, in ninety days' journey, and was furnished with stations like our modern stage routes. It also admits of no doubt that a large coasting trade was carried on from Nineveh and Babylon for many hundred years with India, and perhaps even China. There was surely a considerable overland trade through Media, Hyacania and the centre of Asia. In fact, Babylon seems to have been the great center of the trade of the world; she is called by Ezekiel "the city of merchants." The merchants of Tyre on the Mediterranean sent her their cedar-wood and various articles, for which they received India goods, which they distributed over the then uncivilized Western world. The Tyreans, or Phœnecians, were the first navigators, and before Rome was known, or Carthage founded, those enterprising people became a nation of traders, exploring and establishing colonies wherever they went. They founded Gadez (modern Cadiz) and some suppose, coasted as far as Gaul, Britain and Holland. Carthage was one of the most noted colonies of Tyre, and became the seat of a lucrative commerce with the interior of Africa before Rome rose to power.

Babylon had an extensive market for her East Indian commodities, the trade of which was of course, monopolized by her. Its profits were doubtless enormous, and she sold her spices, cotton, precious stones, ivory, silks, etc., for such fabulous prices that she drew the bullion of the whole world to her emporium, and thus enjoyed "the balance of trade." As to the wealth of the ancient Assyrian empire, we can form no statistical computations, but the researches and explorations of Layard prove that it must have been immense. At the downfall of the effeminate Sardanapalus, rather than give up the luxuries he enjoyed, it is said he set fire to his palace and burned himself up in it, with his wives and his treasures. These treasures were a "thousand myriads of talents of gold and ten times as many of silver." As a myriad contains ten thousand, and one single myriad talents of silver is about \$16,000,000, one would be lost in attempting to estimate the amount. If we set down this account as fabulous, as no doubt it is, still the evidences are abundant that the ancient Assyrian empire rose to amazing wealth and splendor, and the great secret of it was the monopoly of the East India trade.

After the downfall of the ancient Assyrian empire, and its division into several parts, the trade of India was successively secured by several nations. The Jews enjoyed the monopoly of it in the time of Solomon, and that was the golden period of the Hebrew people. David conquered Idumea, and thereby secured the ports of Elath and Esiongaber, two towns situated on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. From these two ports went forth Solomon's triennial expeditions to Ophir and Tarshish; and there can be no doubt, from the productions said to have been produced,—ivory, spices, gold, silver, etc.,—that it must have been the East Indies, although the gold, or a portion of it at least, may have been obtained from the eastern coast of Africa. The death of Solomon, however, was the downfall of the glory of Jerusalem. The revolt of Jeroboam, and the stiffneckedness of Rehoboam, produced the most disastrous results, and turned the course of wealth described in the ninth chapter of Chronicles, the proceeds of Solomon's East India "ventures," and the Syrians recovered the ports on the Red Sea. Tyre was greatly benefited thereby, and soon enjoyed nearly the entire monopoly of this trade for many years. The Syrians established for this purpose the seaport of Rhinoculura, lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine; but at one period the main business appears to have been done by caravans across Mesopotamia to Gerre, a seaport town south of the mouth of the Euphrates, in the Persian Gulf. At all events, they enjoyed the trade, and, at the same time, the protection of the Persian monarchs. Tyre attained her greatest pre-eminence as a commercial city about 550 to 650 years before Christ. At that period the Tyrean merchants were the factors and agents of the civilized world, and emphatically "ruled the wave" as the greatest maritime nation of the world. Gold, silver, lead, iron, slaves, horses, mules, sheep, goats, pearls, precious stones, coral, wheat, balm, honey, oils, spices, gums, wine, wool and silks, are some of the articles mentioned in the commerce of Tyre.

Tyre retained her proud pre-eminence until the war of Alexander the Great with the Persian Empire: waged, without doubt, mainly to obtain the monopoly of the East India trade. She long resisted his conquering march, but was finally forced to succumb. No man was more sagacious in commercial matters than Alexander, and with a wise forethought he founded a city on the Mediterranean, naming it after himself, which eventually even rivalled the famous Tyre. From the foundation of Alexandria (332 B. C.) Tyre gradually declined, until the denunciations of the prophet came true: her palaces were levelled in the dust, and she became "a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea."

Alexandria was so located that there was less overland carriage for goods from India than by any other route that ever had been in use. They were first carried in ships from Berenice, which coasted along the shores until they reached the mouth of the Indus. Subsequently, during the reign of the Ptolemies, the mariners ventured to sail with the western monsoon from the straits of Babelmandel

across the Indian Ocean. The cargoes from India having been landed at Berenice, where thence conveyed by caravans to Coptos on the Nile, where they were transferred to lighters, and sent down the river to Alexandria, whence they were distributed all over Europe. Alexandria added to her India trade almost every other natural advantage. She was the depot of the grain trade of Egypt, and yet great as this trade was, it was, after all, the India trade that caused her chief wealth and magnificence. This wonderful city long maintained her proud pre-eminence as a commercial power, and, had it not been for the discoveries in navigation, and their effects upon the localities of trade, would no doubt at this moment have been the London of the Nineteenth Century. As science and learning follow in the footsteps of commerce and wealth, so Alexandria became the seat of the schools and philosophy of Europe and Asia. Thither Egyptian, Grecian and Brahmanical philosophers wended their way. Merchants of all countries and all climes congregated there from the Indus and the Ganges in the East, to Spain and Gaul in the West. The Alexandrian library was the astonishment of the world, and for 300 years this remarkable city was the great *entrepot* of commercial trade. Then it was besieged and taken by the Romans, who removed most of its works of art to Rome. This, however, did not materially mar its prosperity, which was not seriously affected until the founding of Constantinople and the removal of the seat of empire thither. After this it began to decline, and was greatly injured by the war of the Saracen; but it would undoubtedly have recovered from even all these calamities, had it not, in 1497, received a blow by the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, which almost swept it from existence.

It was not until after the death of Alexander the Great, and therefore subsequently to the founding of Alexandria, that Rome began to assume a position as a cultivated and civilized city. The Romans were not originally a naval or sea-going people. Carthage taught her the first lessons in this, as the Portuguese subsequently did the nations of modern Europe. Yet Rome was not slow in comprehending the advantages of the wealth that flows from well-regulated commerce. About 300 B. C. she made a treaty with Carthage, which proved the bone of contention forever after, and the direct or indirect cause of the celebrated Punic wars. Her first war with Carthage was for Sicily, an island producing more articles of a tropical character than any other country in the Mediterranean. Then she took Sardinia, and followed up her conquest by subduing all the Eastern nations, Macedonia, Syria and the Grecian cities of Asia. She had all the world under tribute to her. She drove the Carthaginians out of Spain, possessed herself of the "golden Cherosenesus," and by her precious metals and the labor of her millions of half-starved slaves, amassed enormous wealth. She finally conquered Alexandria, and even went so far as to destroy Aden, a seaport in southern Arabia, lest it should fall into hostile hands, and thus interfere with her monopoly of the lucrative East India traffic. Rome

was the northern port whence the East India goods were distributed to the northern and western nations of Europe, who, as these luxuries became cheaper, consumed the more of them, and as civilization advanced, demanded the more. The profligacy and the consequent downfall of this city, with the intestine wars that followed, drove that trade away, and Venice gradually loomed up as the distributing point of the trade of Europe. During the 14th and 15th centuries she monopolized the East India trade via the Alexandria route, and her merchants became the wealthiest of Europe. The adventurous Portuguese, however, struck the blow in 1497 that dispossessed the proud Venetians of all the fancied stability of their port as a commercial emporium. The imperial palaces of the Doges sunk into decay as the golden stream of wealth from India was directed to another channel.

From the moment of the discovery of the passage to India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, the commerce of the world was revolutionized. The glory of the Mediterranean had departed. The shores of that *mare internum*, so long the seat of opulent cities and the theatre of great exploits, now began to give evidence that the learning, art and civilization which had followed in the pathway of commerce were rapidly seeking other localities. While Greece and Rome enjoyed the advantages of the traffic with India, either through Syria or Egypt, they rose to the highest pinnacle of commercial prosperity, and to the proudest distinction in art, science and learning. But kingdoms that were supposed to be immovable, and cities said to be "Eternal," faded away and sunk into poverty and decay as the tide of the tropics swept around instead of across the African Continent. We now come to a new era in the East India trade, and we shall make the glance at it as brief as possible.

The Portuguese were not slow in taking advantages of the successes of their maritime explorations. The Pope declared the route to India the exclusive property of Portugal, and for nearly one hundred years no other European nation interfered with them. Lisbon rose to be the first city of Europe, and this, "the golden period of Portugal," is recounted with no little pride by her historians. In 1580, however, Portugal came under the control of Spain, and the revolt of the Netherlands followed. "The coercive policy" of Philip the Second was the downfall not only of Portuguese commerce, but prepared the way for the decline of Spain herself. The Dutch gave no quarter to Spanish or Portuguese commerce. They expelled the latter from the Moluccas, formed trading establishments in the Persian Gulf, and thence along the coasts and isles of India to Japan, and especially to Ceylon and Java. For years this was a lucrative trade, and the Dutch realized vast profits on their East India ventures.

Amsterdam now became in turn the *entrepot* of the India trade; and being also the grain mart of the Baltic, she rapidly rose to the rank of the first commercial city of Europe, which she maintained from 1580 to 1750. In 1700 her tonnage is estimated to have been

900,000 tons, while that of England was only 261,000 tons. The wealth of the Dutch traders was immense. In the eighteenth century they were the money-lenders of Europe; and previous to 1788 had lent sixty millions of pounds sterling to England alone!

The temptations of lucrative commerce, however, soon found their way to England. The Dutch, after the English were compelled, by the war with Portugal, to get their East India products of them, raised the price of pepper 200 per cent., and this, as well as the growing maritime prosperity of England, caused that country to bestow more attention upon East Indian possessions. The French gradually acquired most of the possessions of Holland in India; and then commenced the great contest between France and England for the mastery of the Continent. There had been an East India Company in England since 1600, but it had been hampered by restriction, and though profitable to the stockholders, had not done much towards developing commerce. It was not until 1744, France and England being at war in Europe, that war broke out between the French and English in India. The success of Clive in the subjugation of the country to English rule, belongs to the familiar history of the day.

It is not so generally recollected, however, what was the cause of the terrible and bloody war with Napoleon. England had now not only possessed herself of India, but by her discoveries and colonial possessions in the Western hemisphere, was laying all Europe under tribute to her. She was monopolizing not only the Eastern but the Western world, and turning the trade of the tropical regions of both hemispheres to her ports. Her power, unless checked, would overshadow all Europe. This was really why France embraced with joy the revolt of the American Colonies in 1776, and the sagacious mind of Napoleon conceived, after our independence, his "continental system," the declared object of which was to free Europe from the tribute she was forced to pay England for the colonial or tropical goods which she received from her. The combination of Europe under one monarchy would, of course, have afforded a means of controlling the commercial power of England, the interest of which was to have free intercourse with all the ports of the Continent, and draw from them their wealth to enrich her emporium. Hence, the wars between England and France were the same old contest over again. The Assyrians against the Egyptians, Solomon against the Edomites, Alexander the Great against the Tyrians, the Romans against the Macedonians and Egyptians, and the Dutch against the Portuguese, are all historical parallels and forcible illustrations that this world is governed by uniform and general laws, and that mankind in different generations are really performing the same feats upon different stages of action.

England was successful, and the consequence is that to-day she is the maritime nation of the world. The amount of wealth transferred from India to England from 1750 to 1830, has been estimated at two thousand millions of dollars! Nor is this at all unreasonable.

The first Dutch East India Company in twenty years divided among its stockholders 30,000,000 guilders, more than four times the amount of its capital, besides owning vast amounts of property in colonies, fortifications and vessels. It is a significant fact that England did not begin to rise in wealth with any rapidity until she obtained the monopoly of the India trade. Since then she has far outstripped every modern nation, and to-day has more wealth, *per capita*, than any other people on the earth. Not long since the writer read a report in the papers of a state dinner of the Queen, where all the vessels were of gold, and it has been stated that were the wealth of England equally divided among the people, each man, woman and child in the kingdom would have \$10,000 a piece. This, no doubt, far exceeds all the wealth of the ancients, even that of Cræsus, Sardanapalus or Solomon.

It seems, therefore, to admit of no doubt that the great law of commerce, fixed by the nature of things, is that wealth springs mainly from the tropics, and that the exchange of commodities of dissimilar latitudes constitutes the main basis of all lucrative trade. As nations have conformed to this law, they have risen to the pinnacle of commercial power and splendor. As they have neglected or disobeyed it, they have sunk into poverty and forgetfulness. It is not pretended that this brief sketch is anything like a full account of this interesting subject. The writer has only given the outlines, and traced its history only in the more important respects. There were many cities and localities that enjoyed at times a portion of the commerce of India, especially various towns in Asia Minor, Persia and Arabia, but the sketch given is sufficient for our purpose, viz., to show that India, the tropical portion of the eastern half of the world, has been the great source of its wealth, and that the monopoly of its commerce has been the foundation of all the commercial emporiums of ancient and modern times.

The history of the tropical regions of America, brief though it be, is but a counterpart of the history we have just related. Spain had the most important and the most fertile portion of this Continent under her control for many years. While Portugal was extending her commerce in the East, Spain was pushing her discoveries and colonies in the West. The enormous wealth that flowed into Spain from Mexico, when conquered by Cortez in 1518, and from Peru and Chili when conquered by Pizarro and Almagro in 1528, is a matter of authentic history. The estimated income of Spain from her American colonies was \$30,000,000 yearly in gold and silver, and \$20,000,000 in cochineal, sugar, tobacco, cotton, hides, etc., etc. The revolt of the Spanish American colonies, and the want of any adequate system of labor in them since then, have not only destroyed them as a source of wealth to the mother country, but to every other nation. The latter cause has also destroyed, to a great extent, the value of all the colonial possessions of the European nations on this Continent. Hayti, a revolted colony of France, exported, in 1790,

while a colony, products to the value of \$27,828,000. A short time ago her total exports were stated at \$5,000,000.

The British West India islands, with one or two exceptions, do not show so great a decline in their productiveness. The great efforts made within the past few years to introduce Asiatic laborers into them, on nearly the same principle of labor that has made India the source of such enormous wealth, has materially increased the production of those fertile islands. A vast amount of wealth, however, has gone to Europe from these islands, as they have passed successively from the hands of one power to those of another. Cuba, to-day, furnishes to Spain the most important and the most valuable of her commerce, and yields the largest extent of her revenue. No nation, at present, can be said to be achieving great wealth from a monopoly of the trade of the tropical region of this Continent, simply because it is very imperfectly and only partially cultivated. Leaving the islands and going to the mainland, we find the entire Continent, from the Equator to the 30th parallel of latitude, little better than an uncultivated waste. Brazil is the only oasis in the South American desert of decrepitude and decay. Our Gulf States, embracing only about five degrees of semi-tropical climate, have been the only really productive region in the warm latitudes on this Continent. The staple productions are similar to those of India, though superior in quality and really more important now to the civilized world than those of that country. The control of those productions, their exchange, their shipment, with the commissions, freights and revenues arising from them, have constituted a lucrative source of commercial power and national prosperity. As the East India or the tropical region of Asia built up Great Britain, it would seem that we, as a people, would be unworthy children of an honored sire, if we did not learn from so eminent an example how to turn the tropical region of this Continent into our source of commercial glory and national wealth. If we make use of the means and advantages which the God of Nature has placed in our hands, we shall build up an empire here, before which all the glories, art, wealth and learning of the past shall be utterly eclipsed.

It is now 247 years since New York was founded. This is nearly as long as Alexandria was a great city, longer than Venice revelled in her magnificence, and more than twice the length of the period that Lisbon was the center of European commerce. Two hundred years ago New York only extended to Wall street and its population was only 1,500. One hundred years since it extended to the present City Hall Park, and had a population of 13,000. New York could not and did not grow during its colonial vassalage to Great Britain, for the restrictions placed upon her commerce would not allow it. In 1800 her population had increased to 60,489. And this period may be said to have been the date of her actual birth as a maritime and commercial city. The operation of a uniform system of revenue laws, incident upon the formation of the Union, gradually concentrated business in this locality. Our old merchants

will remember when the Southern States did an active and direct trade with Europe, but the natural adaptation of Northern men for the sea, who live like the Phœnecians did, on a sterile and rock-bound coast, soon made them the carriers to Europe of Southern productions, and New York, as possessing a fine harbor and a favorable locality, soon became the entrepot of American commerce. Merchants soon found in all parts of the country that a city becoming the depot of the manufactures and productions of all countries and climates, possessed rare advantages for procuring assortments of goods. New York rapidly rose under this system. Still, she labored under serious disadvantages. Externally, she was all that could be desired, but internally she lacked those fluvial communications by which the goods of her merchants could be distributed, and the grains and produce of the agriculturists received in return. This was one great reason of the commercial power of Alexandria; all the exhaustless fertility of the Nile poured into her port. New York had only the Hudson, a river reaching to the North, and not remarkable for the fertility of its borders. Had the St. Lawrence poured the waters of the Great Lakes into the harbor of New York, her internal trade would have corresponded with the external. The sagacity of De Witt Clinton supplied, as well as man's ingenuity could supply, the deficiencies of nature. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1826, gave New York another acceleration, for it brought her in water communication with thousands of miles of the richest and most fertile lands of the temperate latitude. Thus was the city built up. The key to its prosperity has been its relation to Southern productions, for these were the great cause of its external trade, which developed and rendered necessary its internal traffic. Had there been no staple of foreign commerce, there would have been no great necessity for the Erie Canal. First, because a vast amount of agricultural productions which now reaches tide-water, would not have been needed. There would not have been the population here to have consumed it, had it not been for foreign trade. And secondly, the quantity sent abroad could have been easily obtained from the sea coast, if all portions of our country had been compelled to confine themselves to grain and production.

To show conclusively that New York owes her maritime power to the agricultural productions of the Southern States, it is only necessary to mention one singular but impressive fact: The tonnage of the country has kept pace, *pari passu*, with the cotton crop, the number of bales of cotton forwarded being always just about the same as the number of tons of shipping. It is also worthy of mention that whenever the quantity of shipping has been increased beyond one ton to a bale of cotton, the inevitable effect had been to produce depression in freights and loss to the shipper. To show what the North reaped, in one item alone, from Southern productions, we have only to recur to the value of the freights. Their total value is estimated at \$28,000,000; of this large sum, \$3,500,000 comes from the North, and the balance, \$24,500,000, is from the South. But this was only a small item of the profits upon Southern

productions which the North and New York city principally reaped from this source. It is estimated that the South used to send North, per annum, \$522,000,000 in value, which forms the basis of a thousand millions of exchange, and lays the foundation of the large financial operations of the North. It is not the purpose of the writer to go into the details which make up this aggregate.

This vast wealth, therefore, concentrated mainly in New York city, has rendered it the metropolis, the Alexandria of the western continent. The diffusion of the profits arising from commerce and trade is felt in every ramification of business. It increases the value of real estate, improves the wages of the laborer, gives employment to thousand's, builds our marble stores, erects the palace homes of our merchant princes, paves our streets, lays out our magnificent parks, creates aqueducts rivalling those of Babylon or Rome, patronizes art, encourages science, aids learning, and introduces all those refined and luxurious enjoyments of the mind and taste which are the irrepressible yearnings of the human soul, as they have been the dream of the poets in all ages and in all climes. New York city, then, has been the commercial emporium of the Western world, simply because she has monopolized the trade and traffic of the tropical and semi-tropical regions of this continent. But suppose there be no productions, or a very limited amount of production in our Southern States, what then? It is now very certain that we shall have not over a quarter, perhaps not more than a fifth of a crop of cotton this year. Can New York city sustain her commercial position upon such a basis as this? Indeed, is it not time that New York merchants looked this matter fairly in the face, and throwing aside prejudice, proudly meet the naked truth. Will they permit mere political or party affiliations to interfere with the demands of commerce and trade? A few plain facts only need to be considered.

The white race is adapted to temperate latitudes, and never has there been, nor can there be, a white laboring population in the tropical regions. The physiology of the races, if generally understood, would demonstrate the truth of this statement; but it is sufficient for our purpose to state the *fact*, that no *productive white labor has ever existed in the tropical regions*. Perhaps one of the saddest experiments of this kind ever known to history is related by Macaulay, in his graphic account of the attempt to found Caledonia, by a colony of rough and adventurous Scotchmen, under the lead of a man named Paterson, on the Isthmus of Darien, in 1699. Scotland was in a furor of joy over the idea that she was to become the possessor of the Indies of America. Streams of wealth were to flow into the laps of her citizens. A company was formed, and every effort made to render the project a success. In August, 1699, four ships, with thirteen hundred men on board, sailed for Caledonia. In October letters were received from New York announcing that a few miserable men, the remnants of a colony which was to have been the garden, the warehouse of the world, their bones peeping through their skins, and fever written in their faces, had arrived in

the Hudson. They had been compelled to seek safety in flight, and but few had been successful, for nearly all had either died before leaving the Isthmus or on the passage from it. Macaulay, commenting upon the infatuation which led to this calamity, says:

"None of Paterson's dupes considered how colonists from Fife or Lothian, who had never in their lives known what it was to feel the heat of a distressing midsummer day, could endure the labor of breaking clods and carrying burdens under the fierce blaze of a vertical sun. It ought to have been remembered that such colonists would have to do for themselves what English, French, Dutch and Spanish colonists employed negroes or Indians to do for them. It was seldom, indeed, that a white freeman in Barbadoes or Martinique, in Guiana, or at Panama, was employed in severe bodily labor. But the Scotch who settled at Darien must at first be without slaves, and must therefore dig the trench round their town, build their houses, cultivate their fields, hew wood, and draw water with their own hands. Such toil, in such an atmosphere, was too much for them. The rate at which the emigrants died was such that none of them seemed likely to live till November. Those who were not laid on their beds were yellow, lean, feeble, hardly able to move the sick and to bury the dead, and quite unable to repel the expected attack of the Spaniards. The cry of the whole community was that death was all around them, and that they must, while they still had strength to weigh anchor or spread a sail, fly to some less fatal region. The voyage was horrible. Scarcely any Guinea slave-ship has ever had such a middle passage. Of two hundred and fifty persons who were on board the *St. Andrew*, one hundred and fifty fed the sharks of the Atlantic before Sandy Hook was in sight. The *Unicorn* lost almost all its officers, and about a hundred and forty men. The *Caledonia*, the healthiest ship of the three, threw overboard a hundred corpses.

All history and experience confirm the above experiments. The labor of the negro is the essential requisite for the cultivation of the tropical regions, but the very inertia of his nature prevents him from laboring, except under the stimulus of the white man's mental vigor and constitutional activity. He must be forced to do what constitutionally he is not inclined to do, and thus it is, that it has been truly remarked that *the muscle of the negro and the brain of the white man* are the essential requisites for industry and production in the tropical regions.

If, therefore, the negro does not labor, the result will be the loss of production in the entire Gulf-State region. The three great staple articles of cotton, rice and sugar will be blotted out of the list of American productions. *They are so blotted out now*, and they will continue to be, unless the negro labor is organized upon some substantial basis. The effect upon New York, upon the North, upon our national prosperity, can easily be understood by every person who has taken the pains to peruse this article. No matter what people may say about present prosperity, based upon the feverish inflation of a paper currency, the definite future cannot be mistaken.

New York city must fall from her pinnacle of prosperity if the tropical and semi-tropical productions of this continent are destroyed. These were ever constituted national wealth, and it is now simply a question how are they to be secured? The great and mighty field of enterprise before New York merchants—of a thousand times more importance to them than are the gold fields of California or the silver mines of Idaho—is the development of the tropical region of this Continent. Thirty degrees of latitude, embracing the most beautiful and fertile lands the sun of Heaven ever shone upon, lies an uncultivated wilderness. Even in its natural state it is a land almost literally overflowing with milk and honey. It only needs to be touched with the spade to laugh. A race adapted by the Creator for the climate is given us, and shall we allow them to cumber the ground, to die out and rot out in idleness and return to savagery, or organize some system of labor which shall insure production, and at the same time secure their own civilization and Christianization? This is the problem to be worked out. It is, no doubt, susceptible of solution. At all events, upon it depends not only the commercial greatness of New York city, but the future well-being of the entire country.

ART. V.—CHARMS OF RURAL LIFE.

A year or two prior to the war, the Hon. Wm. Grayson, of Charleston, one of the finest scholars and most versatile writers of the South, amused his leisure hours with the composition of an exquisite poem on the subject of Country Life which he dedicated to the elder Wade Hampton.

This beautiful production with which the Author, now alas! no more, furnished us an early copy, though printed in beautiful style in his native city, was but little circulated, in consequence of the political troubles, and comes up now before us, a wail from the wreck of the past.

We determine to give the Poem the benefit of our wide distribution, in the hope that "war's stern bugle" having sounded the last note, it will tend to restore and cement the genial and kindly virtues among us.—EDITOR.

THE COUNTRY.

Hoc erat in votis.—HORACE.

The Argument.

THE POET'S WISH FOR COUNTRY LIFE; FEW APPRECIATE IT; THE MULTITUDE PREFER GOLD OR POWER; THE COUNTRY THE CHOICE OF SAGE, POET, STATESMAN, WRONGED BY THE WORLD, OR WEARY OF IT; PRODUCES THE BEST DEFENDERS OF A NATION; THE IRONSIDES OF CROMWELL, THE SWISS, THE CLANS OF SCOTLAND, THE ARABS, THE ROMANS; THEIR PRAISES OF COUNTRY LIFE; THEIR CHARM STILL APPRECIATED IN THIS FAR WESTERN WORLD; OUR PEOPLE, LIKE THAT OF ROME, ADDICTED TO RURAL PURSUITS AND, LIKE THEM, DESTINED TO GREAT ENDS FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS; THEIR PROGRESS; THE FRONTIER HUNTER, THE SETTLED FARMER, THE EARLY PREACHER; THE PEOPLE, A NOBLE ONE; PROMPT TO DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY—BENNINGTON, KING'S MOUNTAIN, NEW ORLEANS; FORTUNATE, IF THEY ADHERE TO THEIR RURAL OCCUPATIONS AND, IN ADORNING AND IMPROVING THEIR HOME, FOLLOW NOBLE EXAMPLES.

The Sabine farm amid continuous hills
Remote from honours and their kindred ills,
Its chrystal fountain, and inviting shade
By groves of ancient oak and chestnut made,

Where flocks and herds, in noonday heats repose,
 Or linger grazing, at the evening's close;
 Where bees abroad, on thyme or willow reap
 Their harvest sweets, and rivulets murmur sleep;
 The sunny fields, the modest mansion there,
 The sober plenty of the rustic year,
 Friends, leisure, books—the Muses' various art—
 That calm and banish from the Master's heart,
 The thorns, the cares, prolific passions yield,
 As noxious weeds, are vanquished from the field,
 This made the poet's prayer—alas, how few
 Enjoy the bliss or deem the blessing true!

How few from gold's alluring visions fly
 Or shun ambition with undazzled eye,
 Turn from the specious gifts their sorceries give,
 And taught by Time's long lesson learn to live;
 Law's fairy fortune fled, a bankrupt scheme,*
 Napoleon's boundless rule, a baseless dream;
 Chained to his rock, from arms and power apart,
 With vulture memories feeding on his heart,
 In broken accents of imperial sway
 And stern command, he breathed his soul away,
 In vain—nor less in vain the lesson fraught
 With gentler lore, by nobler spirits taught,
 When, for the pomp and pride of war and state,
 Untainted by the pleasures of the great,
 They seek the happiness that never cloy
 Of homelier pleasures and serener joys;
 In vain—new schemes bewilder and betray,
 New crowds pursue, where honours point the way;
 Alike the dupes of vanity and lies,
 If won, or missed, the hard contested prize,
 From the drained cup, the insensate revellers crave
 A deeper draught, insatiate to the grave,
 Crushed the fond scheme! yet haunted by its ghost
 They clutch the shadowy form, the substance lost,
 As storm tossed seamen seize the broken mast,
 Cling to the wreck, and struggle to the last,
 The foundered demagogue of party strife
 Cleaves to his purpose and intrigues for life;
 Fallen from the topmost pinnacle of place,
 He rails and wrangles, at the miry base,
 And as the drunkard hugs his hapless doom,
 Raves and harangues, like Adams to the tomb.†

* Law, in the pride of success, had peers and princes of France at his door, soliciting his favours.

† Adams alone of all our Presidents lingered on the stage of public life after the close of his official term. We prefer the example of Washington as indicating better taste and sounder judgment.

"Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage."

In ancient Elis, to the Olympic game,
 From towns and states when joyous myriads came
 For fame, or gain, or idler crowds to see,
 With tranquil eye, defeat or victory,
 In calm spectator and exciting strife,
 The Sage of Samos viewed the scenes of life,
 Claimed, as his own, the cool observer's part,
 Disdained the racer's speed, the wrestler's art,
 The craft of state, the trader's busy care,
 To dwell with nature, in a purer sphere,
 Her games, her strifes, her various tribes explore,
 In field or wood, by sea or river shore,
 With Holbrook's eye, to watch their changeful mood
 And hoard the wisdom won from solitude.

Such the calm shelter for his weary age*
 Of Milton's prayer—the peaceful hermitage:
 Such the pure life by Rydal's grassy mead,
 Mountain and lake that Wordsworth loved to lead,
 That Shakspeare sought, contemptuous of the bays,
 The town's poor pleasures, and uncertain praise;
 That Cowper found a healing balm to cure,
 Or soothe the ills that stricken hearts endure;
 That Shenstone dressed, with taste and love allied,
 That Scott adorned on Tweed's romantic side,
 That Horace wished, that Mantua's poet knew,
 That Cowley praised and Thomson's pencil drew.

Here Statesmen wronged or wearied seek repose,
 Relief from labour and retreat from foes,
 Zama's great victor, in his rural home,
 Scorned or forgot the ingratitude of Rome,
 And Tully from the noisy Forum came,
 In lettered ease to find new fields of fame;
 Waked from long slumber when the boundless rage
 Of license ruled the spirit of the age,
 On trampled altars, when the tiger mood†
 Of France ran riot with the taste of blood,
 From Burke's retreat, arose the voice of power
 That checked and quelled the phrenzy of the hour,
 Abashed the exorcis'd demon slunk away,
 And Truth and Order reassumed their sway.
 But not for Poet, nor for sage alone,
 To calm and teach, is Nature's influence known;
 Her subtle spells and plastic powers controul
 The spirit's power and form the heroic soul;

* And may at last my weary eye
 Find out the peaceful hermitage.—*IL PENNINO.*

† Voltaire described the French character as half ape, half tiger.

She bids the heart with patriot ardour glow,
 She hurls its vigour on the invading foe,
 Awakes its wrath for violated laws,
 And points its sword, in Freedom's sacred cause.

Of such the iron bands that formed and taught
 By Cromwell's skill, in Naseby's battle fought,
 No placeless lackies taught to cringe and bow,
 In city haunts, but yeomen from the plough;
 The sword of Gideon disciplined to wield
 They drove the Stuart's gay pennon from the field,
 Made distant tyrants on their mad career
 Of carnage pause, and bigots pale with fear;
 From Piedmont's caves, no more the dying cries*
 Of stifled multitudes for vengeance rise;
 On Savoy's hills, religious murders cease,
 And child and mother pray and sleep in peace.

In Alpine valleys such the hardy host,
 And such the clans of Scotland's rugged coast,
 Stern on their native hills as when afar
 Their Slogan's voice, amid the din of war,
 Thrilled on the fevered matron's slumbering ear,
 In Lucknow's walls, and spoke of succour near:
 Resistless there, with fierce avenging wrath,
 Through rebel ranks, they clove their crimson path;
 Maid, mother, children, hailed the tartan brave,
 And blessed the hero sent of heaven to save.

Such be our champions, children of the field,
 Strong with the vigour healthful labours yield,
 Not the pale growth of cities, of the gloom
 Of cellars, cripples from the mill or loom;
 Gaunt in-door workmen, never trained to bear
 The summer's heat or winter's biting air,
 Whose faculties are cramped and cabined in
 To cut or point the wire that forms a pin,
 Or polish needles, or like spiders spread,
 In muslin webs, the attenuated thread;
 Weak, toiling artists, fated to supply
 Wealth's idle wants and labour till they die;
 To swift extinction doomed, but Nature's hand
 Marches new levies from the teeming land,
 Recruits the decimated ranks, sustains
 And lends new vigour to their feeble veins.

* *Avenge, Oh Lord, thy slaughtered saints whose bones
 Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold—
 Slain by the bloody Piedmontese.*—MILTON.

Mother of men! Thy rustic vigour gives
Alone, the heart by which a Nation lives;
Strong in thy strength, untamed the Arab roves
His waste of sand, and guards his spicy groves,
Unconquered by the Turk's destroying horde,
Assyria's arrow, or the Roman sword,
While all his holy cities sink the prey
Of vice submissive to the stranger's sway.

From fields and folds the martial Roman came,
The dauntless spirit, the athletic frame,
By labour nerved, on rustic plenty fed,
To health and vigour by endurance bred,
In warlike virtues trained by rustic cares,
To scorn the toil of camp, the battle's fears,
Yet prompt, with crowns of triumph on his brow
The sword renouncing, to resume the plough,
He flew his eagles till the wasting blight
Of city vices checked their onward flight.

Nor versed in arms alone! he learned to praise
The fields he cherished in immortal lays;
To teach the art that guides the farmer's hand,
When with the plough to turn the fertile land,
How wed to ash or elm the yielding vine,
What cares attend the fleecy flock or kine,
Or horse of nobler breed; what signs betray
The storm, or promise the serener day,
What nice experience aids the roving bee,
To make and store his vernal luxury;
How guard the grassy mead with bank and drain,
What seed the valley asks and what the plain
Which soils, or rich, or stoney, readiest suit
The olive's wealth, the orchard's blushing fruit,
Unfold the varied purpose of the year,
Its simple pleasures and abundant cheer,
Spring's fragrant breezes, summer's cool resorts,
Autumn's gay feasts, and winter's bracing sports.

So with unequalled dignity and grace
The Mantuan bard instructs the rustic race,
With stately ease and elegance describes
The forest's grandeur and its leafy tribes,
The tall Narycian pine, Dodona's oak,
And sacred beech, where Jove in whispers spoke,
Cedars of fragrant green, the flexile yew,
That gave its vigour to the Parthian bow,
The sea of box on green Cytorus' sides,
The Alder flourishing where Mincius glides,
Caucasian woods, that winter storms delight

To rend and scatter from the mountain height :
 Warm with the theme, his kindling verses glow,
 With growing beauty, brightening as they flow ;
 Oh, blest of Heaven ! the wrapt enthusiast cries,
 Too greatly blest ; whom Nature's hand supplies,
 Far from the selfish clamours of the crowd,
 Far from the gilded mansions of the proud,
 With plenty, peace, security, content,
 A life in simple cares and pleasure spent,
 Safe slumbers in the shade of caverned rocks,
 The rural music of the lowing ox,
 Of bird, or breeze, or sound of rustling trees,
 Of pebbly brook at play, or murmuring bees,
 Where frugal wants and quiet toils engage
 Laborious youth and venerable age ;
 Where Justice left her parting footsteps driven
 From earth's pollutions to her native Heaven ;
 Oh, who ! what God, what Muse's present aid,
 Will lay their votary in the sacred shade
 Of Hœmus, and his joyous days prolong
 In Tempe, smitten with the love of song,
 From wealth afar and power's delusive smile,
 The world's vain cheats, its arrogance and guile.

So sang the poet ; Latium's echoes caught
 His strains, the rustic listened as he taught,
 Fresh joys in rural haunt and hamlet played
 And statesmen found new pleasure in the shade.

Away from Tiber's banks, in climes remote,
 Still loved and honoured lives the Poet's note,
 Where nobler streams reflect a bluer sky,
 Where greener fields and broader valleys lie,
 Where deep in forest hid and mountain glen,
 Cradles of States, add nurseries of men,
 A sturdy brood, like Rome's undaunted race,
 Trained to the plough and hardened to the chase,
 To empire rushing from the Atlantic shore,
 Climb the blue hills, the distant plains explore ;
 Their course, nor toil retards, nor foes restrain,
 Stream, mountain, desert, check their speed in vain ;
 Weak, too, at first—like Rome's yet infant state,
 When Gaul's barbarians thundered at her gate—
 They braved the tomahawk of savage strife,
 The midnight warwhoop, and the bloody knife,
 Till now resistless grown in manhood's might,
 Swift and unswerving as the eagle's flight
 Their onward march—they see and follow far
 In western skies, the light of Empire's star,
 And stay the advancing standard only where
 The broad Pacific stops their bold career.

So from his fountain of dissolving snows,
At first a feeble rill Missouri flows,
Now, loitering with the idle sedge at play,
Now, murmuring at the pebble in his way,
Beneath o'erhanging boughs a verdant arch
Of hemlock, stealing now his quiet march;
Then, through the rocky cleft, the torrent toils,
Along the roaring rapid foams and boils,
Till, with the tribute of a thousand streams,
Broad in the sun the boundless river gleams,
Pours, in full flood, his deluge on the plain,
And rolls resistless to the distant main.

First in the march the hardy hunter dares
Each untried peril, and the way prepares
For feebler steps; amid the stately pride
Of oak and elm, the quiet brook beside,
Where, far and wide, before his searching eyes,
Savannahs blossom, and dark forests rise,
His rifle, axe, and dauntless heart invade
The unknown secrets of the woodland shade;
With logs to measure notched, and roughly cut,
Course after course, he rears his homely hut,
Of shingle forms the roof, the narrow door
Of timber squared, of trampled clay the floor;
One room supplies his wants, one chimney place
For all his household, spreads an ample space,
Warms, through the day, his cabin home and lights,
With knots of pine, his busy winter nights;
Beside the blaze—white-headed urchins near
To watch or help—the hunter mends his gear;
His wife apart prepares the evening meal,
Or plies the labour of the loom or wheel;
Rough hounds along the floor, at ease retrace,
In sleep, the fortunes of the morning chase,
With twitching limbs and dreamy yelps pursue
The buck, and drag him to the ground anew.

No costly forms of furniture provide,
For idlers, ease, complacency for pride,
No sofa's length invites the lounge here,
The bench or block supplies the easy chair,
White beechen trenches, spoons of polished horn,
And cups of shining tin the shelf adorn,
Or massive table, by the wall apart
Secure from paint and innocent of art;
O'er chimneys nailed, broad horns in antlered state
Of bucks sustain the rifle's idle weight,
Or bristling on the oak as trophies stand,
And tell the skill that guides the hunter's hand.

Now, on the forest, the long war begins,
 A bloodless field, the hunter ready wins;
 To left, to right, with skillful arm he wields
 His conquering axe—the stately hickory yields,
 Majestic oaks, submissive meet their fate,
 The strong earth trembles with the falling weight;
 Well dried by sun and wind, on spring's return
 In crackling fires, the gathered branches burn,
 And leave a fertile space—the hoe subdues
 And turns the soil to mellowing showers and dews;
 With bounteous harvest, every field is spread,
 Broad gourds for dishes, yellow maize for bread,
 The climbing bean, the pumpkin's ample round,
 Spread their wide leaves and shade the cumbered ground.
 Expectant children watch the coming cheer,
 Feast on the ripening pod and milky ear,
 And the glad matron to her standing store
 Of bear or venison, adds one dainty more.

When summer's toils are past and summer's sun,
 Nor yet grim winter's sleety storms begun,
 When on the hills afar, in smoky haze,
 The Indian summer veils its mellow rays;
 From northern hills, when chilling breezes strew
 The wood and glen with leaves of altered hue,
 Gold, crimson, purple, showers, that mingling fly,
 And swept by winds in rustling masses lie;
 When in his hollow, with industrious care,
 The squirrel hoards his wonted winter fare
 Of shining nuts, and from their airy height
 The cry of passing geese is heard at night;
 Impatient of repose the hunter eyes
 The rifle's length and to the covert flies,
 Now, the bear's glossy spoils reward his search,
 Or bearded gobblers from the morning perch,
 Now stealing on, with cautious step and slow,
 He stalks the buck, or strikes the barren doe,
 Far to their haunts, pursues the flying game
 And thins their numbers with unerring aim.

If long harassed to distant wilds they flew,
 The ready hunter changed his homestead too,
 Though fair his cabin home, a fairer fills
 Boone's fancy, beckoning from the distant hills,
 Though rich his valley land, a richer lies
 Beyond the ridge—a hunter's paradise—
 Away he roams to wood and waste unknown,
 Hand, eye and rifle, his defence alone,
 Skilled, savage wiles with subtler wiles to meet,
 He drove the Indian from his dark retreat,

By mighty streams, in forests dim and drear,
 Bearded their chiefs and scorned the thought of fear;
 A captive, tortured, with unflinching will,
 He bore and braved the torturer's baffled skill,
 Fled from their toils, with vengeance fired by pain,
 Took the long rifle and the woods again.
 Unyielding kept his stern determined way,
 And held his conquests with a monarch's sway.

But not in thought alone of forest strife,
 Or woodland sport, was spent the hunter's life;
 From some steep mountain's lingering crest of snow
 He gazed, transported, on the scene below,
 When spring's light touch had waked the forest trees,
 And new-born blossoms wooed the balmy breeze,
 When over prairie wide, and forest glade,
 Hill top, and valley, herds unnumbered strayed,
 Of shaggy buffalo, tall elk, and deer.
 At pleasure browsing, careless yet of fear—
 Unknown the rifle—to the hunter's breast
 Stole gentle thoughts that whispered peace and rest,
 Old memories of boyhood's home and friends
 By Yadkin's* banks, and with the vision blends
 A deeper feeling—shadowy thoughts arise
 Of awe, instinctive, pointing to the skies
 From Nature's aspects—but not long the charm
 That stops the step, or stays the hunter's arm,
 Down, with swift foot, he takes the craggy pass
 And the buck's blood imbrues the springing grass.

Off with their game, the children of the chase
 Impatient pass, a more laborious race—
 Subdue the forest; from the mountain brow,
 Along the vale, obedient to the plough,
 Broad farms are seen; the clouds drop fatness there,
 In fertilizing showers; from earth and air,
 Things whisper happiness; with audible voice
 Streams murmur gratitude, the hills rejoice,
 Pouring from maple founts, their sweets in spring,†
 And filled with corn, the valleys laugh and sing.

In quiet pastures, feed unnumbered flocks,
 The frisking colt, the slow, laborious ox;
 Herds of fair form engage the farmer's care,
 And droves of swine, the sylvan banquet share;
 Fit emblem of the Epicurean sty,
 To-day that revel and to-morrow die,
 Their mast and maize, the greedy host consume,
 Feast to the knife, and fatten for their doom.

* Boone removed to Kentucky—the dark and bloody land—from the banks of the Yadkin.

† The maple is tapped for its sugar in early spring.

In cottage yards, familiar sounds are heard,
 The sharp, shrill challenge of the martial bird,
 The noisy, restless hen from Guinea's coast,
 And quacking ducks, and geese a cackling host;
 There struts the gobbler's state, with crest of pride,
 The radiant peacock marches at his side,
 Bright tints expand, like gems from monarch's won,
 And spread their gorgeous circle to the sun:
 Alert and hungry, with inquiring cries
 And side-long glances shot from shining eyes,
 They watch the matron at her morning stand,
 The brimming basket, and the liberal hand,
 Rush to her call, with flapping pinions greet
 The scattered feast, and scramble at her feet.

No foe to fear, exulting children play,
 And gather nuts or flowers the livelong day,
 Detect the clustered grape with prying eyes,
 And climb the vine to win the purple prize;
 Wild echoes on the hills, to shouting boys
 Shout in reply; with sympathetic joys,
 The dog, their blythe companion gambols round,
 Chases the flitting sparrow from the ground,
 And clamorous at the oak's deep rooted base,
 Bays the shy squirrel in his pride of place.

Embanked and guided now the mountain rill,
 No longer idle, turns the exacting mill,
 The log-built cabin and rude fence are gone,
 Trim painted pales enclose the grassy lawn,
 And elm or oak beside—a leafy screen—
 With lattice windows of contrasted green,
 White mansions gleam; and garners statelier still,
 Rise through the vale or crown the adjoining hill;
 Close in the rear, an ample garden spreads
 With roses gay, a maze of walks and beds;
 Orchards with minstrel music never mute
 In blossom blush, or glow with autumn's fruit,
 And on the new-mown field the tedded hay,
 With grateful fragrance cheers the brightening day.

Along the valley, spires, in calm repose,
 That forest trees half hide and half disclose,
 Arrest the eye, with wiser lessons fraught
 Than Grecian sage or Roman ever taught;
 There, in the grave's sad refuge slumberers lie
 And wait their joyous summons to the sky;
 For savage yells and shrieks of earlier days,
 Swells the soft solemn voice of Sabbath praise;
 While teachers toil with earnest zeal to find

Each easier access to the rustic mind;
 And where from Nature's scenes the Indian drew
 Of Nature's author all the love he knew,
 To purer faith, they bid her forms convey
 A clearer light, to guide the rustic's way;
 He sees, with pensive eye, the forest round
 Restore its faded foliage to the ground,
 Learns from the swelling bud and opening flower,
 More grateful thoughts, for genial dew and shower;
 And when with heavier hand he turns the soil,
 Digs, breaks and harrows with redoubled toil
 And sees as deeper sinks the rugged share,
 That richer harvests fill the closing year;
 So too he finds, when troubles harder grow,
 And the torn bosom's ploughed with sharper woe,
 From seeming griefs, celestial pleasures rise,
 And the heart's harvest blossoms for the skies;
 He feels the heavenly husbandman's controul,
 And learns how sorrows fertilize the soul.

Such thoughts they gain from men in humble guise,
 Though rude in garb, in saintly wisdom wise,
 Trained by no college to their simple creed,
 And bold and hardy as the flocks they feed,
 The Bible furnishing their pulpit lore,
 The leathern saddle bags, their worldly store,
 The horse, their help, companion, friend, they go
 Through summer's burning heat and winter's snow,
 Climb the rough mountain, swim the icy stream,
 Dare the wolf's howl, and brave the panther's scream;
 The fallen leaves their bed, at evening's close,
 Broad sheltering oaks invite them to repose,
 Their steps no danger, toil, nor want delays,
 The forest echoes to their song of praise,
 As, strong in faith, through pathless woods they ride,
 The sun or mossy trunk of trees their guide,
 And, steadfast like the sun to place and day,
 Hasten to teach the borderer how to pray,
 Religion's pioneers, to do, or bear
 What martyrs suffer, or what heroes dare,
 They preach with simple eloquence, reprove,
 Sow, in rough hearts, the seeds of Christian love,
 Rough hearts but honest, no devices there
 Clothe glib hypocrisy in forms of prayer,
 Plain, as their homespun garb of household dyes,
 But pure, the faith that leads them to the skies.

Time's grand historic picture never drew
 A nobler race, brave, self-dependent, true;
 No tenants cringing to a landlord's will,

They till the land, but own the land they till ;
 No serfs of kings, they vote the tax they pay,
 And make themselves the laws that they obey ;
 With sturdy axes, from the forest hew
 An empire's space, and rule what they subdue ;
 No tythes nor customs, rents nor dues betray
 Their rights and filch their hard earned crops away ;
 No nobles govern, whether wise or fool,
 Drones, madmen, knaves, yet privileged to rule,
 Born for preserves, parks, patronage and place,
 Stars, garters—playthings of a noble race,
 While landless laborers ever toil and strive,
 But taste no portion of the sweets they hive,
 Yet boastful of the bliss their fates afford,
 And always prone, like Moore, to love a lord ;
 The passions, Reason labours to restrain,
 With all her force, yet ever strives in vain,
 Thus nursed by laws, assume a darker shade,
 The noble pamper, and the mass degrade,
 With subtle power, the multitude debase,
 And, for a people, form a populace.

Stript of a birthright in their native soil,
 No arts can elevate the sons of toil ;
 No mastership in gems or gold bestows
 The ennobling thought, the humblest peasant knows
 Whose field's his own—a labour then of love,
 The daily toil, the nightly vigil prove ;
 The joy of home about his cottage clings,
 A joy unknown in palaces of kings ;
 The simplest flower with softer beauty blows,
 A richer fragrance blushes in the rose,
 Stocks, stones, acquire a magic power to charm,
 And foster memories for the yeoman's farm ;
 Though rude the clime, each tropic grace unknown,
 He loves it still, if rugged, 't is his own.

By drooping boughs of fir, or gloomy pines,
 Where bound in chains of ice Penobscot shines,
 He wields his axe, and with a master hand
 Strikes the broad forest from the subject land ;
 On swelling streams, when snows dissolving lend
 Their aid, in spring, compacted rafts descend,
 Guided by skillful hands—the impetuous tide
 Sweeps the huge masses to the Ocean's side,
 There the tall pine, again before the gale,
 Bends to the blast, and spreads the belling sail.
 In caves and dens, he hunts the torpid bear,
 Through banks of snow, pursues the struggling deer,
 Rouses the antlered elk—a nobler chase—

In wilds where spruce and hemlock interlace
Their dusky limbs; in vain the quarry flies,
Where, drift on drift, the wintry labour lies,
He reels, he stops, he feels the fatal blow,
And the deep crimson stains the treacherous snow.

With graver step, the plodding farmer goes
A field, in milder climes, where Lehigh flows,
Or where, reflecting towns, on either side,
And States, Ohio glides, in beauty's pride,
By fertile valleys, fields of waving maize,
Long grassy slopes, where flocks unnumbered graze,
Green meadows, orchards flushed, on every spray,
Or white with fragrant promises of May;
Round hills that every gift and charm combine,
The purple clusters of the distant Rhine,
The mossy rock, dim glen and sunny glade,
And the wide stretch of ancient forest shade,
Where quiet farms in sheltered nooks appear,
And health and plenty bless the circling year.

In climes where fields of tropic vigour rear
Rich crops that task the Southern farmer's care,
Cotton of snowy fleece, luxuriant cane,
And rice with drooping heads of golden grain,
Where safe from fortune, sable labourers share
The feast, rejoicing, that their hands prepare,
Stern in resolve, and ardent like his skies,
To tread the shining path where glory lies,
Frank, courteous, brave, tenacious of his claims,
Prompt to abandon gain for nobler aims,
The dauntless yeoman laughs at war's alarms,
And bids defiance to the world in arms.

These make our country's strength, the nerve, the bone;
The love of country dwells with these alone;
Or North, or South, their healthful vigour gives
The crimson stream by which a nation lives;
Trained to the rifle's use, they fear no foe,
And war confront, though heroes strike the blow;
Twice over ocean England's warriors came,
Proud in their strength, and vaunting of their fame,
Twice back defeat has scourged the broken host,
Their honour dimmed, and shamed their idle boast;
Though trained to arms, the bravest of her brave,
They won and kept no conquest but a grave.

In Vermont's valleys, when the startled ear
Of matrons heard the sounds of battle near,
And for their homes and hearth, not empty fame,
To arms, the host of sturdy farmers came,

By Spartan speech inspired, with Spartan blow,
Starke's levies crushed the mercenary foe,
With slaughtered warriors heaped the crimson plain,
Turned to the field and drove their teams again.

And, South, when gathered hosts of yeomen sped
Their secret march to King's broad mountain head;
In buckskin shirt arrayed, from forest farms,
The hunter's knife and rifle all their arms,
Their bed, the earth, their tent, the tree or skies,
Their stores what woodcraft wins, or chance supplies,
The rugged borderers came—three bands divide,
Surround and climb the wooded mountain side,
In turn they yield, in turn advance to meet
The foe's attack and press his slow retreat,
Here Campbell charges—to the mountain height
Here Lacey leads, here Cleveland cheers the fight,
Fiercer with every shout the onset grows,
On every side at once the hunters close
Around the conquered host, and mingling now,
On the bare summit of the mountain brow,
They pause—their wild huzzas of victory fill
The wood and vale and roll from hill to hill;
Williams, faint, bleeding, hears with kindling eye,
Starts at the sound, and dies as heroes die.

From Biscay's coast, when England's navy bore
Her war-trained armies to our Western shore,
Proud of their fame, in serried ranks they stood,
At early dawn, by Mississippi's flood,
In fancy saw his feeble legions fly,
And clutched the spoils of easy victory;
But vain the plunderer's hope, the warrior's wrath,
Grim in his lair, a lion in the peth,
A stern old chief, of iron heart and band,
Marshalled his host, the champion of the land,
Girt with strong arms and hearts—more brave and true
Crusade or courtly tourney never knew,
There, with no stirring sound of trump or drum,
From boundless forests troops of yeomen come,
Where glides deep Cumberland, in regal pride,
Where Holston rushes from the mountain side,
Where Tennessee with bold imperial sweep,
Rolls his full tribute to the distant deep,
Where, in a wilderness of vine-clad bowers,
Sequatchy lingers through his vale of flowers,
Left in the forest haunt, the hunted deer,
Left in the furrow's mould, the shining shear,
Swift, silent, steady, through the pathless waste,
Active and strong, the willing hunters haste,

With nerve of iron, skilled, and falcon's sight,
 To tame the bounding deer, the eagle's flight,
 Along the rampart's line, at ease, they lie
 And watch the foe—with courage stern and high
 They come—before the rifle's fatal ball,
 The leaden hail of battle, hundreds fall;
 From ocean's tempest as with sullen roar
 Wave breaks on wave, along the unyielding shore,
 Row after row, as autumn's towering cane,
 Falls at the reaper's stroke and loads the plain,
 Before the rampart, sinking hopelessly,
 Line heaped on line, the charging squadrons lie,
 In vain, his rallying shout the leader cries,
 At every rifle's flash, a Briton dies,
 In vain, he leads the desperate charge again,
 He sinks his sword, his hand deserts the rein,
 Fought his last field, brave Pakenham no more
 Hears the faint echo of the battle's roar;
 Fast to the shelter of the welcome fleet,
 With shattered ranks, his sullen bands retreat,
 And ne'er again shall foot of hostile host
 The tale forgotten, dare the fatal coast,
 While hunters cheer the hound, while yeomen strain
 Their smoking teams along the furrowed plain,
 Draw health and vigor from the wood and field,
 And live contented with the joys they yield.

How great their blessing! if the bliss they know,
 And shun the scenes polluted cities show,
 Nor leave the silent woods serenely sweet,
 For filth and noise, the sewer and the street,
 And dazzled by a false refinement brave
 The specious ill, the feverish pleasure crave.
 Court idle courtesies where selfish pride,
 And glossing vanity alone preside,
 Endure the chilling smile, the hollow phrase,
 The covert sneer, the patronizing praise,
 Wealth's petty arrogance, detraction's lies,
 And the base brood of social treacheries,
 There, the frank voice of truth is seldom heard,
 There, smiling slander murders with a word,
 There, villany assumes a softer name,
 Keen fraud's a dodge, and swindling leads to fame,
 Sharp knavery is laughed at and excused,
 The clerk's base theft is confidence abused,
 Thieves are defaulters, rogues are in arrears,
 And cunning scoundrels, dextrous financiers;
 Like swine or sheep in reeking pen or fold,
 The independent voter's bought or sold;

In every heart the rage for money burns,
 Commerce to gambling speculation turns,
 All grasp at gold to squander and abuse
 Its power, at once rapacious and profuse,
 Bulls, bears, sneak off, like Schuyler in disgrace,
 But other swindlers fill the abandoned place;
 Extremes of want and wasteful luxury meet,
 Banks fail, yet flourish, quacks delude and cheat,
 These trick with promises to cure and they
 Defraud, with bankrupt promises to pay;
 While fashion's thoughtless crew of idlers nurse
 The growing ill, and swell the country's curse;
 For them the mouthing player struts and prates,
 Lives the licentious life he personates,
 And foreign dancers, with indecent arts,
 And fiddlers come, while pristine worth departs;
 Athwart the glare of theatre or ball,
 The shadowy forms of vice and misery fall,
 To drunken orgies, gay saloons entice,
 Grey-headed seniors leer at flaunting vice,
 The gambler's toils around his victim close,
 And crime unwhipt of justice bolder grows;
 No longer murder stabs and steals away,
 But stalks defying in the light of day,
 Riot and drunken rowdies haunt the street,
 Mob matched with mob in brutal conflict meet,
 Then in the coarse debauch of midnight crown
 The day's exploits, and care and conscience drown.*
 No! for the fevered city's glare and noise,
 Change not your purer scenes and calmer joys,
 On the glad fields, if bounteous seasons pour,
 In golden harvests, wealth unknown before,
 Adorn your homes—with taste and skill impart,
 New charms to Nature by the help of art;
 Teach plants of other climes and stranger flowers
 To breathe their fragrance on your native bowers;
 With fairer herds, the dairy's wealth increase,
 On growing flocks, bestow a softer fleece,
 Give to the courser wings to sweep afar
 Your country's pennon through the storm of war;
 Enclose, drain, till with nicer hand, prepare
 Field, meadow, orchard, with increasing care,
 Help, with more open hand, the neighbor's need,
 Or, with the plough, each generous feeling speed,
 The genial board, prepare with fresh delight,
 Yet warmer make each hospitable rite,
 Like him—long honored in his native land

* The description of city life, here given, applies to the great cities only of the United States and Europe.

Late mourned—the noble heart, the bounteous hand,
 Prompt with his purse to aid each civic end,
 Prompt with the sword his country to defend,
 In war, no bolder breast, no stronger arm,
 Adorning peace with every social charm,
 To whom no sorrow ever sighed in vain,
 Who felt a dream of meanness like a stain
 Whose frank, warm Nature made his ample hall
 A home for friends, a place of joy for all,
 Like Hampton—flocks and herds and homes improve,
 And give due honour to the field and grove.

ART. VI.—COTTON MANUFACTURES — GREAT FIELD FOR THE SOUTH.

The necessities of slavery restricted the Southern people to the pursuits of agriculture. This must now be changed. Free labor, white or black, will seek other channels. The fact is patent, and it becomes capital and enterprise to be on the alert.

We desire to discuss this subject in the REVIEW, and wish for the latest information. Those who have practical knowledge on it, will please communicate with us.

In the absence of later information, we publish the excellent paper prepared some years ago by General Charles J. James, of Rhode Island, who demonstrated the capacities of the South for Cotton manufactures. His figures, altered to suit the circumstances, will be applicable to the present times, and the causes which counteracted his policy, are ceasing to exist.—EDITOR.

In the first place, the planter employs the labor of about half as many horses and mules, as field hands. In the second place, the cultivators of his cotton-field must be his best, able-bodied hands, while two-thirds, at least, of the operatives of the cotton mills are boys and girls. In the third place, the planter has to employ the labor of such boys and girls many months in the year, to gather his crop in the fields. All these, together with other matters that might be named in connection with the culture of cotton and its preparation for market, would very nearly cancel the demand for the labor of the 240,000 British hand-loom weavers, and, especially, when we consider that the latter are not employed much over one-half their time, and, even then, at rates of wages which, without the aid of public charity, would not prevent starvation.

It may be said, perhaps, that we have not taken into consideration the amount of wages paid by the British manufacturer, while, for slave-labor, the planter pays none. True—but, be it remembered, the value of the hand is \$500 at least; the interest on which is \$30 per annum. Then, the planter feeds and clothes his hands, furnishes them with dwellings and fuel, and with medical attendance in time of sickness; and maintains them when, from old age or other cause, they become unable to labor. Thus, the average cost of labor is probably quite as great to the cotton planter, for a given number of hands, as to the British manufacturer; and, reckoning his entire num-

ber, old and young, male and female, and bringing in the amount of labor performed by his mules and horses, he has as many to provide for. True, again, the British manufacturer has to disburse a small portion of his proceeds for other materials than cotton and labor—such as coal, oil, starch, etc. But the planter, on the other hand, has his land to clear, his bagging and bale rope to furnish, his cotton to gin, press and transport to market, etc., etc., which meet a great proportion of all the cost of manufacturing, except cotton and labor. In short, taking everything into account, the net products and profits of manufacturing cotton in Great Britain, will exceed those from the culture of cotton for that purpose in the United States, by more than one hundred per cent. In other words, the ratio of the profits made on 480,000,000 pounds of cotton manufactured in Great Britain, the planter should receive, as his net proceeds, at least \$60,000,000, whereas, he receives at most, but \$30,000,000. And why is there this enormous difference? Two replies are at hand, each of them satisfactory and conclusive; and each of them plain and simple.

In the first place, the planter sends his cotton abroad to be manufactured, and thus loses the profits of the process, when it might as well be done at home. In the second place, he produces a surplus of the article every year, sends it to Europe in surplus supplies, has to solicit sales, and hence must submit to have purchasers make their own prices, and give him for the article just what they please. This he may know from the fact, that an occasional short crop, or a temporary deficiency in the supply, creates a corresponding advance in prices; while, when the demand has been fully cancelled, prices fall again to their usual level, and probably below it. Let us now take another view of this subject, and call the attention of the cotton planter to the principal cotton manufacturing States in our Union; and where, we venture to predict, we will find the balance against him as great in proportion as in Great Britain, although labor is considerably dearer in this country than in that. Could or would the cotton planters of this country employ all the capital and labor now appropriated to the culture of cotton, to a business as lucrative as the cotton manufacturers of Great Britain, they would in the ratio of the present market value of that article now shipped to the British market realize at least \$120,000,000 per annum, instead of \$30,000,000 now returned to them. This difference appears enormous, but such is the fact. The entire cotton crop of 1840, as per official statements and returns, was 790,479,275 pounds. Assuming 25 per cent. for the increase since that period, which is probably a near approximation to the truth; the crop of 1848 was 985,098,93 pounds. Assuming, also, six cents a pound as the return to the planter; the entire amount realized for the crop was \$59,285,945.58. Though persuaded that this estimate is a high one, we will yet increase it, and put it down in round numbers at \$60,000,000 for the sake of convenience. Taking our former estimates as a basis, to produce this quantity of cotton, would require 3,991,036 acres of land, the value of which, at \$25 per acre, would be \$99,775,900. There would also be required the labor

of 395,200 hands. The value of this number of able-bodied slaves, say as before, \$500 each, would be \$197,600,000, and which with the cost of cotton gins, horses and mules, etc., etc., will amount to at least to \$300,000,000. Let us now inquire what is done by the appropriation of capital, labor and skill, together with the material in the cotton mills of our principal manufacturing States.

In five of the New England States, there are employed, about 75,000 operatives, manufacturing cotton fabrics. The capital employed in the business as estimated at \$42,982,120, and the gross product at \$309,180,143. Deduct thirty-three and a third per cent. from the latter sum for cost of all materials, labor excepted, say \$13,639,381, and you have as net product of labor, \$27,278,762. This sum is a trifle less than the entire amount received by the Southern planter for all the cotton he ships to Great Britain. Yet this is realized on the employment of a capital of something less than \$43,000,000; while the planter employs, as has been seen, to produce that cotton, capital in land, slaves and fixtures to the amount of \$150,000,000. The difference in the interest on these two sums, per annum, at six per cent. is no less than \$6,420,000, a very desirable item in favor of the Eastern manufacturer. Again, to produce that result, we have also seen that the planter must employ, at least, 180,000 hands, able-bodied persons, whereas the Eastern manufacturer employs only 57,000, being less than one-third part of the number, and who create, by their labor more wealth than the former. In proportion to the capital and labor employed, the planter should realize more than thrice the amount of the manufacturer, but does not, in fact, realize quite as much. Yet, not less than two-thirds of the whole number of operatives in cotton mills are women and children. These are plain and unembellished facts, based on, and borne out by, the most authentic data that can be obtained; and which we shall, hereafter, attempt to illustrate more fully and verify more substantially by the exhibition of practical details and known results, too simple to be misconstrued, and too well authenticated to admit of doubt. In fact, the superiority in the increase of wealth and population of the manufacturing States compared with that of the cotton-growing States, affords almost incontestible proof of the fact, that manufactures create wealth with much greater rapidity than the cotton culture—if not, then, whence arises the difference? for there certainly is a great difference. Labor and skill are more judiciously distributed in the manufacturing States than at the South and more economically applied. With the planter, the object is to work a certain number of hands—to make all the cotton with them that he can, and to sell it for what others may be disposed to give. The market is glutted—cotton must be sacrificed at a low price. Instead of diverting a portion of his means to some other and more profitable object, he exerts himself to produce more cotton this year, that, by increase of quantity, he makes up his loss in price; instead of which he enhances the supply, reduces the price still lower, and still continues at the mercy of foreign brokers. As a general thing, this is not the way

with the people of the manufacturing States. Their object is to pursue any certain branch of business no further than it is found profitable. When it ceases to be so, they relinquish it and try their hand at some other. For this reason, labor is properly distributed and economically applied. In other words, people are careful that labor should be employed on objects most productive, and in such a way as to insure the greatest result in the shortest time. So of skill, materials and capital.

Would a Northern climate admit of the culture of cotton, and had a Yankee, in either of the New England States, a cotton plantation, with all the requisites for the prosecution of the business, the moment he found he could make more money by the manufacture of that article, than by its production, it would be farewell to cotton growing; and the next thing you would hear on his premises, in the way of business, would be the clatter of the loom and the hum of the spindle. Yankee folks are said to be full of notions; and such notions constitute the great secret of their prosperity. If Southern planters would act on a similar principle, they would much benefit themselves. A gentleman well versed in the statistics of cotton-growing, in the finest regions of the southwest, has calculated that, to supply cotton for a mill of 10,000 spindles, say 1,800,000 pounds per annum, would require the product of ten of the best plantations in the country; which, with their slaves and fixtures, would be worth \$738,000. The product, as above, would amount to \$108,000; from which, deduct the cost of operating, such as overseers, materials, carriages, etc., which he estimates at \$28,000, and you leave to the planters \$80,000. The mill to manufacture this cotton will cost, with all its machinery complete, \$210,000, and require a working capital of \$40,000—or say the entire capital, including mill and machinery, would, at the outside, be \$250,000.

To manufacture the above amount of cotton into sheetings of one yard in width, of the fineness of No. 14, will cost, including the cost of the cotton, steam-power, transportation, insurance, labor, and, in fact, every item of expense, a little short of \$232,000; to which add \$15,000, the interest of the capital, at six per cent. per annum, and you have the entire cost of the manufacturing the above 1,800,000 pounds of cotton. This cotton will make 4,500,000 yards of cloth; which, at seven and a half cents per yard, (a low price, by the way,) will be worth \$337,500, leaving a balance, after having paid every expense, of about \$106,000. Thus, you see, by the labor of 275 operatives, mostly women, girls and boys, there will be created, actual wealth to the amount of \$106,000, from 1,800,000 pounds of cotton, besides the amount paid to them for labor. To produce that same cotton, worth in market \$108,000, required the labor of no less than 600 able-bodied hands, besides one-half that number of horses and mules. The capital employed to produce this result is \$738,000. The manufacturer's capital is but \$250,000. If, therefore, the planter could by any means remove these plantations into one of the New England States, with all their slaves, fixtures, etc., and they

should continue to produce cotton as abundantly as on the Mississippi and Tombigbee, though now nominally worth toward a million of dollars, the owner of the cotton mill, which cost but \$250,000, would not exchange it for them, and would evidently be a loser by the bargain if he should. This will at once appear obvious, when we state that over and above the cost of the working of the plantations, already named, there would be expended, for overseers, etc., \$20,000 more; and reducing the net income to \$88,000—less, by \$18,000, than the net product of the cotton mill. Under these circumstances, the mill owner would much rather keep his mill, and employ his hired operatives, than to take in exchange the plantations with their slaves, etc. The reason: he can make the most money by his mill. But this comparison applies not only to a cotton mill in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island or Connecticut, but even in the best cotton growing States, at the side of the best cotton plantation in that State. This statement requires no labored argument to confirm it. Every species of property designed for the creation of wealth, is valuable in the ratio of its productiveness, without respect to its actual cost. One plantation may have cost \$50,000, and require an outlay of \$20,000 per annum to work it. Another may have cost \$20,000, and be worked at an expense of only \$5,000. Without respect to this difference of cost and expenditure, every one knows that, if the cheaper establishment yield a greater profit than the other, it is, of course, of most value to its possessor. Thus, if a planter own cotton lands which cost, with all his slaves and fixtures, \$700,000, or more, and yield a net profit of \$80,000 per annum, the cotton mill at his side, the capital of which is but \$250,000, including the cost of the establishment itself, which yields a net profit of \$100,000, is intrinsically worth more to its possessor than the planter's cotton lands and slaves. Every planter knows his common-place statement to be true. But, after having admitted all this, the cotton planters and capitalists of the South raise the inquiry: Suppose we wish to go into the manufacturing business, though we had plenty of the raw material, how shall we obtain the labor and skill qualified for the work, and of both of which we are deficient?

Up to the year 1767, not a pound of cotton had ever been spun in any part of the world by machinery. Though a considerable quantity was manufactured in India, and some in England, yet all was done with the aid of the old spinning-wheel and hand loom, precisely as is now the case with the families of our Southern planters. When, therefore, Hargreaves in 1757, and Arkwright in 1769, brought out the spinning-jenny, only eighty years since, Great Britain possessed neither the requisite labor nor skill, trained to the business, nor yet the practical cotton-machine builder, nor the raw material. All these were to be created and inducted into the business. But British enterprise did not falter. The business was taken in hand and prosecuted with vigor. In the course of four years, it was in successful operation. From that time to the present, Great Britain has lacked neither manufacturing labor, skill nor materials. The result of the

business, at the present time, we have already seen. About sixty years since, not a solitary cotton spindle had been made or driven in America. It is doubtful if any person had ever seen one. About that period, an attempt was made, on a small scale, to spin cotton with machinery in Rhode Island, but failed for want of proper skill. This, however, was not long wanting. The arrival in this country of the celebrated manufacturer, Slater, supplied the deficiency, and we have now only to look around, and to examine the statistics of trade in this country, to learn the great results of the truly wonder-working power of the cotton spindle and the loom. At the time the process of cotton spinning by machinery was first introduced into New England, the people might have laughed at the idea, and said, How shall we, entirely unaccustomed to building and operating cotton machinery, obtain the skill, and train the labor for the work? But others far-seeing and shrewd, came to the conclusion, and their conclusion was the correct one, applicable in all cases, that you have but to open a productive field, and there will be labor and skill enough found to cultivate it. The issue has proved the truth of the conviction. Those aids have never been required, but they have been at hand. And should the number of mills in the United States be doubled within twelve months, probably not one of them would have to delay for a day, the commencement of manufacturing operations, in consequence of a deficiency of labor and skill. A vast proportion, if not all required, would undoubtedly be found among us. If not the first demand would call from Great Britain as many of her now half-starved and starving operatives, as might be required. But, without calling for aid from Europe, a full supply may at all times be obtained in New England, to manage and supervise the operations of the cotton mill, and there are thousands of persons at the South, who would gladly and gratefully accept such employment to earn a livelihood, much superior to that which their present means can possibly afford; and would quickly become qualified for the work of operatives, under the charge and direction of good superintendents and managers. There is nothing hypothetical in this statement. Experience has shown it to be true to the letter.

As respects all raw materials, especially those of a bulky character, economy dictates that, all other things being equal, they should be wrought on the spot on which they are produced, in order to make the most valuable return. For instance—iron ore, a material abundant in Russia and Sweden. Were that material to be shipped to this country in its crude state, there would be a heavy charge for the transportation of the foreign matter combined with the metal, which must eventually be borne by the original owner. And all that the iron would bring in this market, after having been smelted and manufactured into bars, over and above the cost of the ore, would be so much wealth created here. The extra charge for freight is saved, and the additional value of the iron is retained at home, by its being manufactured on the spot on which the ore is found. Of this, the

original owner takes his share, and the balance is distributed for labor, etc., in the community. The community is enriched by so much, therefore, in consequence of the operation. There may be some exceptions to this rule, but, from what we have seen, there is none in favor of the transportation of cotton to a distant market. The rule is founded on a general law. Labor and skill are marketable commodities. These, like all other commodities, will, as a general thing, seek the best market. Suppose all the labor and skill at hand are necessary to the production of a quantity of cotton, sufficient to supply the demand of the manufacturer—the planter then would manufacture his own produce, but lacks the mechanical skill. Let it be known that he is in want of an engineer, managers, overseers, operatives, machinists, carpenters, masons, etc., for the purpose, and you will soon see that, instead of finding it difficult to obtain such, he will very probably, be overrun with applications. In a comparatively short period, hundreds of factories might be erected and started at the South, and fully supplied with every description of skill and labor wanted. Thousands would resort there with the hope of doing better by a change, induced by the prospects which new enterprise in a profitable business hold out, of permanent employment and higher wages. Even should the planter, who goes into the manufacture of cotton, find it necessary to import his operatives from Europe at his own expense, he would still be a great gainer by the transaction. In a mill of 10,000 spindles, he would require 275 persons. Suppose he should procure them in England, and pay the expenses of transporting them thence to this country at fifty dollars each—the transportation of the whole would amount to \$13,750. This would be once for all. Another such transaction would never be necessary. His mill will also require, as seen, 1,800,000 pounds of cotton. To place that cotton in a Northern manufactory, will cost including every charge, at least one cent per pound, or \$18,000 dollars. This amount all comes into the cost of manufacturing in the Northern mill, and goes, of course, into the price of the manufactured article. This amount will, therefore, be saved by the Southern planters who manufacture their own cotton. It pays, in one year, all the cost of transporting the above number of operatives from England, and leaves a balance of \$4,250. But the operation of the transportation of cotton goes on from year to year, at the annual cost of \$18,000. We will now go somewhat into detail on this subject.

The cotton from the planter, reaches the Northern manufactory increased one cent per pound in its market value, by the expenses incurred *in transitu*. Allowing the planter's price to be six cents per pound, its cost to the manufacturer will be seven. The pound of cotton, less waste, will make two and eight-tenths yards of sheeting, No. 14, one yard in width, worth, at the present low prices, seven and a half cents per yard, or twenty-one cents per pound. The raw material, however, is subjected to a loss of ten per cent. in the process of manufacturing, so that the weight of the manufactured article

from 1,800,000 pounds of raw cotton, will turn off but about 1,600,000 pounds of cloth. Thus—1,800,000 pounds of cotton, at seven cents, costs \$126,000. The entire cost of manufacturing, is \$121,000, including labor, and interest on the capital; and, making with the cost of cotton, \$247,000. The quantity of the manufactured article will be 1,600,000 pounds at twenty-one cents per pound, or seven and a half cents per yard. This is worth, at that rate, \$336,000. From this sum deduct the cost, as above, and you leave as a balance in favor of the manufacturer, the sum of \$89,000. This is the gross income for one year; with the labor of 275 operatives, mostly boys and girls, and a capital of 250,000. From the above amount of \$89,000, however, there are certain other expenses to be deducted; such as commissions, guarantees, etc., which will somewhat reduce it; but yet, the amount left will be much greater, taking all things into account, than the net proceeds to the planter from the raw material.

To produce the cotton for the foregoing operation, as already noticed, the planter employs 600 able-bodied hands, and nearly one-half that number of horses and mules, and a capital of at least \$730,000. The interest on this capital is \$43,800 per annum, or \$28,800 more than the interest on the manufacturing capital; and the labor is more than that employed in the manufactory, reckoning that of man and beast on the plantation, by three hundred per cent. Thus, the capital and labor necessary to the production of 1,800,000 pounds of cotton, would be sufficient to erect, furnish and operate three cotton mills, each of which would manufacture into cloth this entire quantity of cotton, and each of which would also return, in the shape of gross income, several thousand dollars more per annum, than is now realized from the entire amount of labor and capital employed to produce cotton for one of them! It must also be borne in mind, that the manufacturer at the North receives his cotton enhanced one cent per pound above the plantation price, which makes the gross amount of the additional cost, \$18,000 per annum. This would of course be saved by the manufacture of the article on the spot of its growth, and would go to increase the profits of the operation.

Were there room for a rational doubt on this subject, the reader might be justified in regarding it with some degree of skepticism. But, when he reflects on the well-known fact, of the much more rapid increase of capital and wealth in the manufacturing community, than in that of the cotton planter, he will be constrained to acknowledge that the effect cannot be without a sufficient cause. That cause he will seek for in vain, unless he find it in the greater profits of manufacturing, compared with those of producing the raw material.

To confirm this statement, we annex a schedule, made up, not from estimates either hypothetical or theoretical, but from authentic data of actually practical results drawn from a mill now in operation. These results have occurred during the past year, being one of the worst known in the manufacturing annals of the United States.

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Cotton—1,800,000 pounds, at seven cents per pound..... | \$126,000 |
| Cost of power (steam)..... | 4,500 |
| " Carding..... | 13,266 |
| " Spinning..... | 14,734 |
| " Dressing and Starch..... | 9,306 |
| " Weaving, including all expenses..... | 26,598 |
| " Repairs, wear and tear, machinists, etc..... | 17,002 |
| " General expenses, officers' salaries, transportation, etc..... | 20,642 |
| Interest on capital of \$250,000 | 15,000 |
| Total..... | \$237,048 |

Against this sum, which includes the entire cost of manufacturing, we have 4,500,000 yards, of No. 14 sheeting, the product of the mill, worth now, seven and a half cents per yard.....\$326,250

From this last amount, deduct the cost as above.....237,048

And you have a balance of.....\$89,000

As the gross profits to the manufacturer, subject to the deductions for commissions, etc., before named, on 1,800,000 pounds of cotton, after having paid for the cotton, and the cost of manufacturing; while the planter who produced that cotton, receives but \$108,000; being more by only \$18,888, than that received by the manufacturer. Yet, from that sum, viz., \$108,000, the planter has to pay all the cost of production, together with all incidental expenses, besides the interest on his capital.

Facts like these should fix the attention of the cotton planter, teach him his true interest, and stimulate him to become the manufacturer of the product of his field, instead of permitting others to reap the entire profit. Yet, he acts differently. The small profits derived from his cotton fields, after the deduction from the gross receipts, of a sum sufficient to cover the cost and the incidental expenses, are generally appropriated to the extension of agricultural operations, and the production of more cotton—of which there is already too much. He neglects the main chance, and delves on, from year to year, to build up European and New-England manufacturing cities, towns and villages, and to enhance their wealth, when he might as well secure a due share of these benefits to himself.

If, say many persons at the South, we had the capital, so abundant at the North, we could then embark in the manufacturing business with some prospects of success; but our means are mostly in lands and slaves, and the money capital is deficient for the purpose. This objection, however plausible, is unsound. It rests on a mistaken view of the subject. What has created the large capital in the manufacturing States? A portion of it is, without doubt, the fruits of agriculture and commerce; but by far the greater part is, either directly or indirectly, the production of manufactures, not only of cotton, but of various other materials. The New-England States, for instance, named in a preceding page, though in a prosperous condition compared with former times, had, at the commencement of the

cotton manufacturing era, scarcely money capital sufficient to prosecute their commercial and agricultural pursuits. But they did not hesitate on that account. A rich field for operations presented itself, and, money or no money, people determined to enter and cultivate it. Of course, a portion of the capital had to be withdrawn from other pursuits, and some debts to be contracted; but this procedure was fully warranted by the prospect presented, and as fully justified by the result. New-England might have hesitated to embark in manufacturing enterprises, on the plea of a deficiency of capital, and continued to this time to devote herself entirely to agriculture and commerce to augment that capital. And what would have been the result? She would not now, as all circumstances past and present go to show, possess one-half the wealth she does, nor probably more than two-thirds of her present population. The truth is, the small means and credit first embarked, were increased; the whole was again enhanced by new operations, and so it has continued, till the amount of capital now invested in manufactures of various descriptions, and the wealth that has been created by them, are probably much greater than the entire value of the now manufacturing States was, at the commencement of these operations.

In the year 1839, according to the data appended to the United States census of 1840, there were in operation in Maine, 29,736 cotton spindles; in New Hampshire, 195,173; in Massachusetts, 669,095; in Rhode Island, 518,817; in Connecticut, 181,319—making in all, 1,590,140 cotton spindles in operation in those five States, at that time. Since that period, the number has been increased twenty per cent. at least, and there can, therefore, not be a less number now, than about 2,000,000, nearly. The manufacture of cotton was commenced in Rhode Island about 1791, but its progress for many years, was extremely slow. We will assume the year 1810 as our starting point, at which time it had begun to put on the appearance of some importance. Thus, reckoning to the close of 1849, we have a range of forty years.

Again, assuming that, in 1810, there were 50,000 spindles in operation, then the medium or average number for forty years would be something over 900,000. Distribute these in ninety mills of 10,000 spindles each, and each mill creating wealth at the rate of \$100,000 per annum, or, which is the same thing, adding that amount to the value of raw material, and which is nearly one-third less than the amount stated for the mill before alluded to, and we have \$4,000,000 in forty years. Hence, the ninety mills would add, and probably have added, at least \$300,000,000 of wealth, or capital to the community, in forty years, by means of the combined operations of labor, skill and materials, aided by capital and credit. It is true, there have been fluctuations in the business and occasional failures, as there are, and ever will be, in the most lucrative business ever known. But, most persons who have entered into this have made money by it; and at any rate, failures or no failures, the wealth created by it is in the community—the product of labor, skill and materials—and if

the foregoing estimates are within the limits of truth, and they are believed to be, then, by cotton manufactures alone, the above five States have added to the stock of wealth, no less than \$360,000,000 ! Permit us now to inquire : have the whole ten cotton-planting States done as much by the culture of their staple production, or anything like it, in proportion to the labor, skill, materials and capital employed ? Let the comparative estimates on the culture of cotton and its manufacture, in the foregoing pages furnish the reply. Such, as has been stated, is the example set by New England, though commencing with a deficient capital even for her ordinary pursuits, with her system of credit to aid in the production of the most valuable returns from the labor, skill and real capital of the country. Can any reason, even a plausible one, be given, why Southern people should not do the same ? Their means are more abundant than were those of New England at the commencement of the cotton-manufacturing business in this country. All that is wanted is, enterprise. There certainly could be no sufficient reason why a number of planters, having available property of the value of half a million of dollars, could not raise, on that property, the sum of \$250,000, to prosecute a business, the profits of which would be almost certain to return one hundred per cent. on the outlay, in the short space of two or three years at farthest. Especially might they do this when known, as known it is by practical experience, that that business would probably enhance the value of the property in possession fifty to one hundred per cent. Southern planters, considered men of wealth, find little or no difficulty in extending their credit, to any desirable amount, in the purchase of land or slaves, or both. It would be quite as easy for them to do so, if necessary, to erect manufactories, and their credit and funds would, in such case, be applied to an object much more productive.

But it is not only the benefit to be derived in a direct manner to the individual manufacturer, that holds out a strong inducement to the South to go largely into the business — nor yet, alone, the prospect of enriching a community as a body. Motives of philanthropy and humanity enter into the calculation, and these should not be disregarded. This is a subject on which, though it demands attention, we would speak with delicacy. It is not to be disguised, nor can it be successfully controverted, that a degree and extent of poverty and destitution exist in the Southern States, among a certain class of people, almost unknown in the manufacturing districts of the North. The poor white man will endure the evils of pinching poverty, rather than engage in servile labor under the existing state of things, even were employment offered him, which is not general. The white female is not wanted at service, and if she were, she would, however humble in the scale of society, consider such service as a degree of degradation to which she could not condescend ; and she has, therefore, no resource, but to suffer the pangs of want and wretchedness. Boys and girls, by thousands, destitute both of employment and the means of education,

grow up to ignorance and poverty, and, too many of them, to vice and crime. This picture is no exaggeration; it is strictly true in all its details. The writer has no disposition to reproach the wealthy for the existence of such a state of things. He is well aware that it is the result of circumstances which have to them been unavoidable. But he cannot resist the conviction that, when a fitting opportunity presents itself to the wealthy men of the South to obviate those evils, at least in a degree, and that even in a way to benefit themselves, they can hardly be held guiltless in case of refusal or neglect to apply the remedy.

The writer knows from personal acquaintance and observation, that poor Southern persons, male and female, are glad to avail themselves of individual efforts to procure a comfortable livelihood in any employment deemed respectable for white persons. They make applications to cotton mills, where such persons are wanted, in numbers much beyond the demand for labor; and when admitted there, they soon assume the industrious habits and decency in dress and manners of the operatives in the Northern factories. A demand for labor in such establishments is all that is necessary to raise this class from want and beggary, and, too frequently, moral degradation, to a state of comfort, comparative independence, and moral and social respectability. Besides this, thousands of such would naturally come together as residents in manufacturing villages, where with very little trouble and expense, they might receive a common-school education, instead of growing up in profound ignorance. I would, therefore, appeal to the planter of the South, as well as to every other capitalist. Let your attachment to your own interest and the interests of the community, united with love for your species, combine to stimulate you to enter, with resolution, this field of enterprise, and to cultivate it with the full determination not to be outdone. You must succeed.

ART. VII.—LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN DE WITT.

THE English having been considerably damaged, and deeply involved in debt, became soon as desirous of peace as before they had been clamorous for war. In his correspondence with the States, Charles took occasion to intimate his desire to enter into amicable relations with them, and proposed that a treaty of peace should be negotiated at London, but the Dutch preferring some spot within their own territories, fixed upon Breda. De Witt perceiving that it was a favorable opportunity to revenge himself for their arrogance in forcing such an unjust war upon his country, managed to protract the negotiations, and made great preparations to strike a decisive blow. De Ruyter was ordered to enter the Thames with his fleet, where he succeeded in taking Sheerness and Chatham, and burned many of the English ships; so that the conflagration was visible, and the thunder of his cannon audible to the citizens of London. But finally, on the 10th of July, 1667, the treaty was concluded and

signed. Polerone, a rich spice-island in the East Indies, was awarded to the Dutch. Acadia was given to the French, and New York was conceded to the English.

The war had scarcely been brought to a happy issue by the treaty of Breda, when a formidable enemy threatened to involve the State in new embarrassments. Louis the Fourteenth, then in the prime of his youth, and ambitious of glory, suddenly appeared in person with an immense army, commanded by his ablest generals, Condé and Turenne, and captured several of the best fortified towns on the frontiers of the Netherlands, before any successful resistance could be opposed to them. This unexpected movement alarmed the neighboring nations, and stirred up the terror and indignation of the Dutch to the highest pitch. The English, too, feeling aggrieved by the rising power of France, were disposed to curb the aspiring temper of her monarch, which threatened to disturb the balance of power, and to destroy the liberties of Europe. His indifference to the sacred obligations into which he had entered by renouncing the treaty of the Pyrenees, impressed itself upon the minds of those who were desirous of preserving peace, as a flagrant evidence of his unscrupulous ambition.

Discontent also prevailed among the German states, but their reluctance in taking any active steps to indicate their apprehensions, induced the English nation to make the first advances in proposing an alliance with Holland. Sir William Temple, who had been their minister resident at Brussels, was instructed to proceed to the Hague, and to sound the Dutch government, which was embodied in the person of De Witt, as to the policy of forming an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the French. De Witt intimated his willingness to do all in his power to accomplish so desirable an object; but said that it was a fundamental law of the States never to enter into any alliance but with full approbation and consent of all the provinces and towns of Holland, and in the event of his negotiation not obtaining their approbation, his head would be forfeited. And further, that as France had been long their ally, and England but recently their bitter enemy, it could not be expected that he would act in haste. But that necessity which is said to have no law, overruled his apprehensions and scruples, and he resolved to run the risk. Temple and himself put their heads together, and without resting scarcely to eat or sleep for five successive days and nights, they drew up the articles of the famous treaty which gained them so much applause, and which is so well known as the Triple Alliance. It was made triple by admitting Sweden to enter into the alliance with them. In a letter written by Temple to a friend soon after, he says:—"They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities for having finished and signed in five days a treaty of so much importance to Christendom. But I will tell you the secret of it. To draw things out of their centre requires labor and address to put them into motion; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far that there needs no more than just to set them agoing. Now, I

think a strict alliance is the true centre of our two nations. There was also another accident which contributed very much to this affair, and that was a great confidence arisen between the Pensioner and me. He is extremely pleased with me, and my sincere, open way of dealing; and with all the reason in the world, I am infinitely pleased with him on the same score, and look upon him as one of the greatest genuises I have known, as a man of honor, and the most easy in conversation as well as in business."

The announcement of the treaty spread universal rejoicing throughout Holland. De Witt gave a splendid ball at the Hague, at which the Prince of Orange, Temple, and all the foreign ambassadors were present. The Prince opened the dance, and De Witt deigned to testify his joy by participating in it, and acquitted himself to the admiration of all. But his joy was soon turned into mourning. His beloved wife, whom he called "his true and better half," was suddenly taken from him. His friend Temple wrote him a kind letter of condolence, to which he replied as follows:—"In your obliging letter I find so many marks of affection and tenderness for me, that I cannot refrain from returning you my most humble thanks, and to tell you that of all the consolations afforded me in my affliction, none has been more effectual than what I received from you. I find there it is the heart that speaks, and that you truly take part in my affliction, whereof I see you know the greatness, because you so well know the inestimable loss that I have suffered. And I am free to say, that if any remedy be capable of healing the wound, it will doubtless be what your gentle, healing hand has applied to it. I receive it as I ought, and will endeavor to profit by all your consolations, by combating my weakness with the strength of your reasons, which are dictated not only by that Christian philosophy of which you make profession, but by that sincere friendship with which you were always pleased to honor me."

It is well known that this distinguished diplomatist figured conspicuously in almost all of the negotiations between England and foreign nations at that period. He was born in the year 1628; and after graduating with distinction, at the University of Cambridge, he visited the Continent, where he remained for several years, studying modern languages and cultivating himself in those accomplishments by which he attained such eminence, when called to the conduct of public affairs. From his thirty-second to his fifty-second year, he was constantly engaged in the management of diplomatic business with Holland; and from his frank and statesmanlike behavior, he acquired the particular esteem of the Grand Pensionary, with whom he lived on terms of cordial intimacy. His correspondence has been preserved with care, among the State archives. He was the only statesman who could cope with De Witt, and the only one who could appreciate his extraordinary talents. He considered him the greatest genius whom he had ever known. In the year 1680, he retired from public life, "being sensible that there was little in a Court but a perpetual exchange of false friendship, pretended honesty,

seeming confidence and designing gratitude." In the latter years of his life, he spent the most of his time at his country-seat, Sheen, which he called "his nest." He employed himself in improving his gardens after the Dutch model, and in writing miscellaneous works for the benefit of his son. His "Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands," is the most correct and amusing of all his compositions, and is, perhaps, the only one which is destined to a long popularity. He died in the year 1700; and, according to his instructions, his heart was buried under a sun-dial, which stood in front of his residence. Perhaps his graceful translation of the 29th Ode of the 3d Book of Horace, may give some idea of his philosophical temper, as well as his poetical talents.

"He only lives content, and his own man,
Or rather master, who each night can say,
'Tis well, thanks to the gods, I've lived to-day;
This is my own, this never can
Like other goods, be forced or stolen away.

"And for to-morrow, let me laugh or weep—
Let the sun shine, or storms or tempests ring,
Yet 'tis not in the power of fate, a thing
Should ne'er have been, or not be safe,
Which flying time has covered with his wing.

"Capricious fortune plays a scornful game
With human things; uncertain as the wind,—
Sometimes to thee, sometimes to me is kind,
Throws about honor, wealth and fame,
At random, heedless, humorous and blind.

"He's wise, who, when she smiles, the good enjoys,
And unallayed with fears of future ill;
But if she frowns, e'en let her have her will.
I can with joy resign the toys,
And lie wrapt up in my own virtue still."

The rapidity and success with which the triple league was ratified, gave as great umbrage to the French monarch as it had given joy to the Hollanders, but he was determined to revenge himself for this sudden check to his vaulting ambition. Although he had himself proposed the terms on which the treaty was based, he used every effort to elude it. It was only from apprehension of the serious consequences that might ensue, that Spain could be persuaded to relinquish her possessions, which France had succeeded in subjugating. It was urged that certain destruction would befall her in the event of her young monarch dying without issue. They resolved to hold a convention at Aix-la-Chapelle to settle the terms of reconciliation, which, not without much difficulty, procured a short though delusive peace. For a season all Europe seemed to repose with security under the protecting wings of that confederacy which had been formed from motives of self-interest and self-preservation. Spain was compelled, though with a bad grace, to accept of the alternative offered, and Louis was permitted to extend his garrisons into the heart of the Low-Countries.

But while Temple and De Witt were commended and lionized for their diplomatic address in forming the Triple Alliance, a fresh storm was brewing. Temple returned to England, and De Witt went to Amsterdam to spend the Christmas holidays among his friends. As soon as they returned to the Hague, they had to negotiate about the right of free passage which the English pretended to have in the territories that the Dutch owned in the East Indies. As the English claimed the trident of the seas, they wished to compel the Dutch ships to lower their colors when they passed theirs, although it was expressly stated in the treaty of Breda that the two nations were to be placed on precisely the same footing as they were before the war. Another cause of difference was still more trifling, but was one of the principal incidents which induced the King of England to declare war against the United Provinces. The English demanded permission to let their countrymen pass from Surinam with their slaves to their own country, which was positively prohibited by the terms of the last treaty. The king of France having been informed of these dissensions through his ambassador at the Hague, thought it a favorable opportunity for him to propose to De Witt to break off his alliance with England and Sweden and form a new alliance with himself. He said that by such a treaty they would remove the suspicion and fear which the States entertained when his army invaded Flanders, and that it would at the same time restore the mutual friendship which had formerly subsisted between them. But De Witt was obstinate in refusing to form an alliance which he foresaw would be of short duration, and which could not be brought about without compromising his honor. Louis, finding himself thwarted in conceiving his treacherous proposal to the States, ordered his ambassador at London to sound the king. He soon discovered what he had strongly suspected, that Charles was never pleased with the Triple Alliance. His want of money and his secret attachment to the Catholic religion concurring with the ambitious projects of his ministers, who, with his mistresses, exercised absolute control over him, induced him to seize the bait that was thus temptingly offered, and he henceforth became the salaried viceroy of France.

His ministers suggested to him that it was high time for him to rouse himself from his lethargy, and to recover that authority which his predecessors during so many ages had peaceably enjoyed; that the great error, or rather misfortune of his father, was, that he had not formed any close connection with foreign princes, who, on the first breaking out of the rebellion, would have come to his assistance. That the present alliance having been entered into with so many weaker potentates, who themselves stood in need of the king's protection, could never serve to maintain, much less to augment the royal authority. That the French monarch, alone so generous a prince, and by blood so nearly allied to the king, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cause of kings against usurping subjects. That a war undertaken against Holland by the united force of two such mighty po-

tentates, would prove an easy enterprise, and would serve all the purposes that were aimed at. That under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his subjects, the king would vainly expect to defend his prerogative. That his naval power might be obtained partly by the supplies which on other pretences might be easily obtained from Parliament, partly by subsidies from France, partly by captures, which might easily be made on that opulent republic. That in such a situation, attempts to recover the lost authority of the crown would be attended with success; nor would any malcontents dare to resist a prince fortified by so powerful an alliance; or if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themselves and on their cause, and that by subduing the States, a great step would be made towards a reformation of the government, since it was apparent that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified in his factious subjects their attachment to what they vainly called their civil and religious liberties.

Such were the deliberations of the cabal—those “grand infernal peers,” as Milton would call them (Moloch, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub and Satan.) Shaftesbury was considered their head and front:

“A fairer spirit lost not heaven; he seemed
For dignity composed and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; tho’ his tongue
Dropped manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and
Dash maturest counsels.”

Clifford said that the States had behaved basely; that De Witt was a rogue and a rascal; that it was beneath the king of England or any other king to have any thing to do with such wretches. His sentence was for open war. In June, 1671, the designs of the cabal were matured, and the mask was thrown aside. It was ascertained that they secretly formed an alliance with France, and soon after openly declared war against the States.

“Amphibious wretches! sudden be your fall,
May man un-dam you and God-damn you all,”

was the infernally heroic couplet with which Clifford doomed the whole Dutch nation to destruction.

ART. VIII.—MEXICO AND THE FENIANS—FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

SOME years before the late sectional war we wrote an essay on Mexico which appeared as a leading article in this REVIEW. In that essay we recommended the speedy annexation of Mexico to the United States, assigning as a reason that forty years of alternate revolution, misrule, military usurpations, despotism and anarchy, had abund-

antly demonstrated the fact that she was incapable of originating or sustaining a government of her own; and must be ruled by foreign intervention and foreign force. That having become a torment to herself, and a nuisance to Christendom, it would be in entire consistence with sound humanity and national laws and usages, for any Christian nation to interfere, subdue, and if necessary, annex her, in order to give her a stable government of some kind. And that if we did not speedily annex her, France or England would probably very soon do so, and that either nation would be entirely justifiable in such a course of conduct. Although there were then no visible signs or premonitions of the coming event, the fulfilment of the prophecy followed close on the heels of its utterance. No one then complained, either of our reasoning, or our prediction; but so far as we could ascertain public opinion or public sentiment, they were in entire unison with what we wrote. It is in no spirit of egotism that we cite our own authority, but to remind our people that they had abundant opportunity to anticipate France in her humane and entirely justifiable course; that as next neighbours it was our especial duty so to have done; and that having neglected that duty, we should rather thank, than censure her for supplying our mission.

With a national debt, including unliquidated claims, of more than four millions; with a devastated and ruined South, and impoverished North; with a people hitherto accustomed to very light taxation, suddenly subjected to a heavier taxation than any other people on earth, would it not be the height of madness in us to go to war with half of Christendom to maintain a silly and untenable abstraction—the Monroe Doctrine. We say to go to war with half of Christendom, and we think we can show in few words, that an attempt on our part to expel Maximilian and set up a republican government in Mexico, would inevitably involve us in war with the better half of Christendom, if not in numbers, at least in available military force. Our Monroe doctrine, is a throwing down of the gauntlet to all Europe, and although Russia, having territory enough, might not be disposed to take up that gauntlet, all other European nations, who have, or who wish to acquire, possession in America, are directly and vitally interested in breaking down our power, either by conquering us, or by dividing, and thus weakening us. France, Sardinia and England but the other day united to aid slaveholding Mohametan Turkey in her war with Christian Russia; and will they hesitate to unite in order to oppose and break down the strength of the Union, which is already five times that of Europe, and grasping with certainty of success, if unopposed, at universal empire, or at least at universal supremacy? Austria will, of course, lend her aid to Maximilian, and Spain will be delighted with the opportunity to be revenged for our insulting and impertinent interference in Cuban affairs. To these, add Mexico fighting us with her seven millions on the South, and Canada with her four millions on the North, and we think such a war would end in less than one year, in a bankrupt and divided Union, if not a conquered and subject Union.

We do not apprehend that our Government will do anything so silly and so wicked as to attempt to expel Maximilian, and set up a republican government in Mexico; but we do fear, that our great and rapidly increasing strength, our absurd, boastful swagger, and our oft-paraded Monroe doctrine, will alarm European nations for the safety of their invaluable American tropical colonies, and their American trade and commerce, and that they will take the initiative and make war upon us, before we grow too strong to be successfully opposed in our avowed scheme of monopolizing all that is valuable in America. We have enough, if not far too much, territory already. We are exhausted by a long, bloody, and destructive war, oppressed by a National and by State and Corporation debts, which, estimated by the rate of interest, are the heaviest that ever a people were heretofore subjected to, and hence it is our plain interest and duty to cultivate friendly relations with all nations.

We have ever been much attached to the Irish. We love them the more for their very faults, and cannot help it. Their Celtic impulsiveness, their thoughtless generosity, their improvidence, their prodigal hospitality, their excessive sociability, and their chivalry, degenerating into pugnacity, are all qualities that excite our admiration and enlist our affection, but which, so far from commanding approbation, rather deserve our censure. There is too little selfishness in the Irish character. Selfishness and its antinome, which, for want of a better word, we call *anti-selfishness*, are equally essential, moral qualities. Man being a social animal, must live equally for others and for self. Excess of selfishness makes him neglect the duties which he owes to society, whilst excess of anti-selfishness betrays him into neglect of the duties which he owes to himself. Group all the qualities which constitute Irish character together, and the defects of that character will be found to be excessive benevolence or anti-selfishness.

Besides, the Irish are full of faith, eminently religious, respectful of the past, and of precedent and authority, opposed to change and innovation, and, consequently, the most loyal people in the world. That tyranny which drives such a people to seek redress by revolution must be indeed intolerable. If not the most intellectual of nations, they certainly are the most social, cheerful, ready-witted, agreeable and eloquent. It is impossible not to love such a people, not to sympathize with their political oppression, and not to desire to see them a separate and independent nation. We have long since forgiven them for the oceans of Southern blood which they shed during the late war, for they fought us without the least malice or ill-will, but merely because it being a free fight, they felt it would be a disgrace to Irishmen not to be the first to enter the ring.

Entertaining such opinions and feelings for the Irish, we cannot but desire the earliest movement for the attainment of the objects for which the Fenians are contending. But we believe they are proceeding prematurely and rashly; that their attempt will prove ridiculously, if not cruelly, abortive, and that its failure will rivet more

closely and permanently the chains of English tyranny, and by begetting hopeless dejection, prevent the renewal or the success of future attempts to attain independence. There is no unanimity in Ireland on the subject of Fenianism. The Orangemen are bitterly opposed to it, and will fight zealously and bravely to put it down. The Catholic clergy are opposed to it, and their great influence and authority will detach from the cause a large portion of the Irish Catholics. England never was half so rich, half so powerful, nor half so well prepared, on any former occasion of attempted revolution in Ireland, as she now is. She can in a few months, if she pleases, have on the soil of Ireland a million of soldiers, well armed and well commanded, wherewith to crush out rebellion, even before it is fully organized. She is more populous, twice as wealthy, has a standing army five times as numerous, and a navy five times as strong, as had the North at the beginning of the late sectional American war. What the North effected here in four years, England, by following her example, may and would effect, in a month, in Ireland. Ireland has neither men nor money, nor credit, nor munitions of war, nor depots of provisions, nor organized civil government, nor men accustomed to the conduct and details of such a government. Yet an attempted rebellion in Ireland would probably bring on a general war among Christian nations, in which we should become involved. We do not distrust either the wisdom, prudence, or pacific dispositions of the President and his Cabinet. But we do fear that the bitter feud that has long existed between the Canadians and the Americans on the Canadian line, soon to break out into open hostilities, in the event of an Irish rebellion, will involve us in war with England. In such a war we could do nothing to aid Ireland, for we have no navy fitted to cross the Atlantic, much less to cope with that of England. Our navy is the best in the world for the purposes for which it was intended,—that is for blockading the coasts and rivers of a people who have no navy; but wholly worthless for any other purpose.

Were Ireland independent, with a King, a Parliament, a hereditary nobility, and a richly-endowed national Church of her own, her rich absentees would return to settle and live on her soil, and she might soon become the most prosperous, wealthy and enlightened nation on earth; for all wealth, prosperity and enlightenment, are the results of cheap labor. A pauper peasantry is the basis of all national glory and prosperity. But if you permit your laboring class, your peasantry to consume all that they produce, as we of the South foolishly permitted our negroes to do, you must ever remain poor, ignorant and contemptible. If Ireland could attain independence, without teaching her laboring class to eat meat and bread, wear decent clothing, use ale and tobacco, and live in comfortable houses, why then independence would make her a wealthy, prosperous and distinguished nation. But there is danger that when rebellion and revolution once let loose the spirit of innovation, that it may find its way down to the masses; that they may abjure potatoes and butter-milk,

and gradually learn to eat meat and bread, to drink tea and coffee, &c., and to live in all respects according to the fashions of the day. This will require a great increase of their wages, and a great reduction of their rents,—or, in other words, they will consume most that they produce, and little will be left to build up private or national wealth or prosperity, or to advance Human Progress.

To be serious, we think that the revolution needed in Ireland is to induce her laboring classes to abjure potatoes, and betake themselves to a richer and more costly diet. Employers in China, finding that laborers can live on a few ounces of rice a day, only give them six cents per diem as wages. Capital is sure in every country to bring down the wages of labor to the minimum that will support life. That minimum depends on the mode and fashion of living of the laboring class. The English laborer would soon die if confined to rice or potatoes as a diet. He cannot subsist on less than twenty-five cents a day. The American laborer's required wants are greater than the Englishman's, and he cannot live on less than half a dollar a day; hence employers in England and America have to pay much higher wages to laborers than in Ireland or in China. Extravagant living is ruinous to the higher and wealthy classes, but the only reliable shield and protection of the laboring masses. Banish potatoes from Ireland, and teach her peasantry to live in a more costly manner, and her *poor* would need no political revolution.

ART. IX.—COTTON SEIZURES BY FEDERAL AUTHORITY AT THE SOUTH.

OPINION OF CHARLES O'CONOR, JAMES T. BRADY, WM. H. EVARTS AND OTHER LEADING MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK BAR.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE LAWS AND RESOLUTIONS OF CONGRESS IN REGARD TO THE ACTS OF TREASURY AGENTS, SHOWING THE INTENDED DISPOSITION OF THE PROPERTY TO BE ALTOGETHER UNAUTHORIZED, ETC.

We cannot do a better service to the entire people of the South, as well as to the interests of constitutional liberty, than to give publication, in full, in the pages of the REVIEW, to the able exposition which follows. No one should be deterred by the length from its careful perusal. It touches the interests of thousands of our people now and in future, and we cannot doubt that the excellent and able gentleman who presides over the Treasury Department will, as soon as convinced upon the subject, make every necessary order. Upon this point he will be in entire harmony with the President.—Editor.

The Act of Congress, approved March 12, 1863 (12 Statutes at large, p. 820, §1), provided that it should be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint special agents "to receive and collect all abandoned or captured property" in certain territory specially designated by the act, but which, for the present purpose, may conveniently be termed the Insurgent States.

Two distinct provisions in the subsequent act, adopted July 2, 1864, define with precision the sense in which Congress employed the phrase "abandoned property." It is there said that property shall be regarded as "abandoned" when the lawful owner thereof shall be voluntarily absent therefrom and en-

gaged, either in arms or otherwise, in aiding or encouraging the rebellion. (13 Statutes at large, p. 376, §2 and §3.) The term "captured property" did not receive a legislative definition, and it required none. Its legal import has long been well established.

These Treasury-Agent acts, as for the sake of brevity we may call them, provided that the property referred to might be "appropriated to public use on due appraisal, or forwarded to" a place of sale. They directed that all sales of such property should be "at auction to the highest bidder, and that the proceeds thereof shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States." (12 Statutes, p. 820, §2).

The practical construction given to these acts by the Treasury Department, or by its subordinates with its sufferance, is, that they authorized these agents to seize any property on which they could lay their hands within the prescribed territory, forcibly to remove it to any place of sale designated by the Department, and there to sell it without judicial proceedings or investigation of any kind, paying the proceeds into the public treasury.

Under this interpretation of their powers, these Treasury Agents have habitually made extensive seizures of cotton in the Southern States, carried it to New York, and there sold it, disposing of the proceeds, in each instance, as directed by the Department.

Conformably to this practice, and on the 26th day of January, 1866, one hundred and thirty-six bales of cotton, then in Savannah, Georgia, and held by Messrs. Wm. Battersby & Co., of that city, on account of Messrs. Dennistoun & Co., of New York, were forcibly seized by certain Agents of the Treasury under color of the acts in question. They have transported the property to New York, and are about to sell it at public auction. It is announced that after allowing to the actors in the affair such rewards or compensation for their services as may be thought fit by the Department, the residue of the proceeds will be paid into the Treasury of the United States.

Messrs. Dennistoun & Co. have requested me to inquire whether they are remediless, and therefore obliged to acquiesce in the proceedings.

The receipt and collection of abandoned or captured property within the insurgent States, as contemplated by the acts in question, were war measures. The enactments on the subject were, in their nature, temporary and operative only during the continuance of hostilities, or, to use a term found in one of the acts, until "the suppression of the rebellion." I am therefore of opinion that the seizure in question was wholly unwarrantable, and that there is no authority in law for the disposition intended to be made of the property.

Many reasons offer themselves in support of this conclusion:

I. That such was the intent of Congress is quite apparent. The only thing that can be urged to the contrary is the absence of any express or formal declaration in the acts, that the authority conferred by them was to cease at any particular time or on the happening of any event. It will readily occur, that this, if it proves anything, proves quite too much.

It is altogether inconsequential, unless it requires the Courts to hold that the practice in question was intended to be perpetual; or, what is equivalent, to continue in full operation until abrogated by express legislation. Indeed, there is no middle ground between a construction which would hold the Treasury Agent system to be a temporary measure, instituted for belligerent purposes, and that which would accept it as establishing a policy intended to govern for all future time within that region which the President, on the 12th July, 1862, "designated as in insurrection." (12 Statutes at large, p. 810, §1.) There is no alternative; one or the other of these readings must be adopted. If there be a jurist in the land whose moral perceptions would not force upon him an instantaneous and indignant rejection of the latter, considerations may be stated which will convince even him.

Legal perpetuity cannot be claimed for the practice merely because the acts do not, in terms, declare that it shall cease when the occasion for its employment shall have passed away.

The principle that "every law of itself and by its nature is supposed to be perpetual," applies only when "it contains nothing in its disposition, or in the circumstances attending it, that evidently denotes a contrary intention of the legislator, or that may induce us reasonably to presume that it was only a temporary ordinance." (Burlamaqui, part 1, ch. 10, §14, sub. 2.) Such is not the case with respect to these acts. The general language of statutes is constantly restrained to the time, occasion, or purpose for which, upon a fair view of all their provisions taken together, the Courts can see the Legislature designed to provide. "The most universal and effectual way of discovering the true meaning of a law," says Mr. Justice Blackstone, "is by considering the cause which moved the legislator to enact it; for, when this reason ceases, the law itself ought likewise to cease with it." (1 Com., p. 61.) Lord Mansfield, when urged to expound, as if it were without limit, a statute which was general in its terms, replied: "If there is no express exception, there is one implied from the nature and reason of the thing." (*Alway v. Burrows*, 1 Douglass R., 264.) See, also, *Main v. Prosser*, 1 John's Cases, p. 130—Judge Denio's notes to his Reports, vol. 3, p. 84.

It is undoubtedly true that the very words employed by the Legislature itself are the primary guide to the legislative intent. It is equally true that when the Legislature plainly, and by the words which admit of no reasonable doubt, express a particular intent, there is no room for interpretation; and Courts are bound to hold that such intent existed. No departure from these principles need be advocated; for of the acts in question, the most that can be asserted is, that they use general words, and are silent in respect to the duration of the practice which they introduced. This is the precise case which invites interpretation. On the point of duration no particular intent is directly expressed by the Legislature; and, therefore, it is the province of the judiciary to ascertain and declare the will of the law-making power. For this purpose, the Courts will weigh every indication found in the acts themselves, and carefully consider all such external matters as, by the general principles of the interpretation, are allowable aids in the inquiry.

Very grave mischief would necessarily attend the execution of such a system at any time. Public hostilities might induce or compel a government to disregard this consideration; but the return of peace takes away all the license that springs from war.

Between treating these acts as intended to establish a permanent policy to govern for all time within the prescribed territory, or as merely designed to subject that territory to be thus harshly dealt with for some limited period immediately succeeding the actual close of hostilities, it might be difficult to choose. If we were compelled to make a distinction, perhaps the latter would not be preferred.

When executive agents are allowed by law to seize and appropriate private property without judicial process or judicial supervision, they soon fall into a habit which is utterly subversive of justice. They regard themselves as holding not a special commission, but a general warrant. Every imaginable claim that might possibly exist in favor of the Government, is deemed to be within their cognizance, and, therefore, summarily enforceable. Even in time of profound and long-established peace, when the Courts are open and free to every suitor, the individual, who might be thus despoiled of his property, would be much embarrassed in his research for a remedy. Under a law which was itself valid and constitutional, and which, like that under review, purported absolutely to sanction the seizure and sale, leaving the owner without a judicial remedy, the Administration could scarcely fail to become rapacious and tyrannical.

What would be the character and tendency of such a law if designed to continue in force only for a limited period after the termination of existing hostilities? It would bear a certain resemblance to the practice of those barbarian warriors of former times, who delivered over to be sacked and plundered by their followers, the territories which they had conquered; but greater evils

would result from it. Ancient pillage usually invited to its orgies only the victorious soldiers and the camp followers. The informal and merely verbal license usually given could rarely tend to more than a brief period of lawlessness. While it lasted, death and wounds might, indeed, be inflicted, and many outrages be committed; but this brief reign of violence and disorder did not tend to make the victors or their co-revelers much worse than before, nor were the victims demoralized; there was little or no time for the display of treachery, and the whole thing was but a brief intensifying of the excesses often allowed in battle. Far more mischievous in their nature must be the action of these Treasury Agents upon the departmental construction of their powers.

Every hungry adventurer in politics or in any other gainful pursuit throughout the North is invited to take out a treasury license for privateering on land in time of peace among the vanquished. Every one within the lately insurgent States, susceptible to such temptation, is invited by the proffer of rewards for his treachery to become a spy upon his neighbors and an informer against them. Holding out in the apparently safe, and it might even be thought respectable form of a public law, such inducements to cupidity would be sure to enlist, as a monstrous after-birth of our unhappy civil war, a whole brigade of cotton raiders, composed of the corrupt and corruptible on both sides of the line. The consequences would be a degree of oppression on the one hand and demoralization on the other, that no pure mind can contemplate without emotions of disgust and horror. Nor would this vicious practice be likely to have the excuse of enabling our war-worn veterans to seize a prey by way of recompense for their toils and dangers. The soldier's taste does not incline him to such method. It is a pretty safe conjecture that the Treasury Agents, who have been employed in this business, will generally, if not invariably, be found without the military button, and neither grievously maimed nor slightly wounded, nor yet even soiled with the smoke or dust of battle. How the fact may be is not known, but the nature of the business renders this inference so probable that it is offered with some confidence to the test of inquiry.

Constant raids through the subjugated South in pursuit of property, that, on some ground or pretense, might be forcibly seized, and divided between the Treasury, its travelling agent and his local informer, would readily have been foreseen as the inevitable result of such a system, had its adoption for peaceful times been suggested to Congress. Experience shows precisely such results. Of our most eminent citizens, a gentleman of unimpeachable probity, and distinguished alike for his eloquence, his ardent advocacy of Northern ideas, and his favor for their spread, even by coercive means, if necessary, bears testimony to the fact, and denounces the abuse in no measured terms.

In a lecture delivered on the 20th of last month, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher said:

"It is a shame to see so many of these corrupt agents throughout the South." He calls them "predatory nuisances," and asserts, "that all throughout the South they are as locusts, eating up every green thing."—*N. Y. Herald*, Feb. 21st, 1866.

By the Treasury construction, the people thus preyed upon are denied judicial protection or resort of any kind, and standing as they do in imminent danger of prosecution for real or supposed complicity in the recent conflict, they dare scarcely venture even to complain of any wrong inflicted upon them, however palpable or enormous.

No civilized legislature could have contemplated such a mode of dealing with the people of its own country, after all forcible resistance to its authority had ceased. So to treat a foreign tribe or nation, which had been conquered and subjugated, would be wholly inadmissible. Certainly it would be utterly repugnant to the notions of humanity, justice and governmental duty which have long prevailed in the mother country; and, unless it can be upheld by these very acts, nothing of the kind has ever been sanctioned by law in this Republic.

Our jurisprudence, even as it came to us from the monarchical state to which our ancestors belonged, without allowing for any of the improvements which

might justly be presumed to have resulted from its transfer to a republican basis, contemplate, securing to the individual entire freedom of his person and control of his property, until some right to restrain the one or divest the other shall be duly established by judicial proceedings, conducted in conformity with ancient and approved methods. The preliminary restraints and seizures which, in certain cases, are allowed under regular process pending the controversy, are not exceptions to the general rule but exemplifications of it.

This doctrine, however it may have been occasionally violated, is very familiar. Its most unprincipled contemner in practice, rarely dares to deny its existence, or to question its applicability to any case but his own. Innumerable illustrations might be offered. Possession is always favored by a presumption that it is rightful until the contrary has been judicially established. The rightful claimant of land is compelled to resort to his action. Be his title ever so good, he is not allowed to enter with strong hand and oust the possessor. Such a course is illegal. Positive statutes have enforced this principle for centuries, by subjecting the disturber to criminal indictment.

To make recaption of one's own undoubted personal chattels, by violently wresting them from the peaceful possession of one claiming title, is not practicable without incurring a similar peril. (3 Wend. Blackstone, p. 4, note 6; Peters, 613.)

Peace cannot be preserved without an adherence to principles, and every departure from them is a step towards lawless barbarism. How, then, can it be supposed that Congress intended to sanction, in time of peace, a departure so total and flagrant as is exhibited in the practice under consideration.

The government that, without imperative necessity, could inaugurate a practice so fraught with oppression, so utterly inconsistent with public honor, so subversive of private integrity, would incur the deepest odium.

For these reasons, an interpretation which would impute to Congress a design so unworthy, should be rejected, if possible; and not only is this possible, but as hereafter, will be shown, it is unavoidable.

That these acts were somewhat hastily framed, must be admitted. In order to make the section which relates to the Court of Claims intelligible, it is necessary to interpolate some words. The system was introduced by the very latest act of the 37th Congress. The degree of attention given to business at such times is not great. That act was not signed by the President during the existence of the Congress which adopted it, and for this reason—serious doubts of its validity have been entertained. These circumstances would justify a more than usual latitude of interpretation in order to avoid absurd and mischievous consequences.

Looking to the general object and purpose of the acts, the existing evil for which they sought to provide a remedy by the employment of extraordinary measures, and considering the strict respect for private right which has ever influenced our Government, "except when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may (have been thought to) require a temporary deviation," it is the duty of our Courts to hold that the system was not designed to continue after the cessation of hostilities. (See Const., Art. 1, §9, Subs. 2.)

"A statute creating a new jurisdiction ought to be construed strictly as new commissioners exercising a summary and arbitrary jurisdiction. A statute which gives a new remedy, by summary proceedings or other deviations from our ancient constitutions, ought not to receive a liberal construction. A power derogatory to private property must be construed strictly. Acts which take away the trial by jury ought to receive the strictest construction." (Dewarrie on Statutes, pp. 749 to 751.)

These citations show that, in matters relating to private property, and the exercise of power over it, there should always be a construction liberal and benignant in favor of the individual, strict and rigorous as against those who claim the power. This is the ancient law of England; it came to us by inheritance from a liberty-loving ancestry; our judiciary will not depart from it.

Mr. Justice Blackstone (Vol. 1. p. 91) says, that if there arise out of statutes "any absurd consequences, manifestly contradictory to common reason, they are, with regard to those collateral consequences, void." After admitting the omnipotence of Parliament, and the total absence of judicial power to control the directly expressed will of that body, he adds: "But where some collateral matter arises out of the general words, and happens to be unreasonable (as, for instance, a government enforcing war measures against its people in time of peace), there the judges are in decency to conclude that this consequence was not seen by the parliament; and, therefore, they are at liberty to expound the statute by equity, and only, *quoad hoc*, to disregard it."

Decency and humanity alike require a decision that Congress never foresaw, that any one would attempt to extend the practice in question to time of peace, and, consequently, that such a use of it was never sanctioned by that body.

There is ample authority for the position that, even if the words employed by Congress were so nearly expressed as to create a serious impediment to this construction, the Courts would, nevertheless, overcome that impediment.

Citing English and American decisions that fully sustain him, Mr. Sedgwick, in his *Treatise on Statutory Construction*, at page 233, lays down this canon: "Such a construction ought to be put upon a statute as may best answer the intention which the makers had in view. And this intention is sometimes to be collected from the cause or necessity of making the statute, and sometimes from other circumstances; and whenever such intention can be discovered, it ought to be followed with reason and discretion in the construction of the statute, although such construction seem contrary to the letter of the statute." (Smith's Com. on Statutory Construction, §480; Jackson v. Collins, 3 Cow., 96.)

Applying the principle that the provisions expressly made by the Legislature form the best and surest evidences of its intent, a brief review of the acts will suffice to convince any unprejudiced person that they do not authorize the employment of treasury perambulators through the Southern States, after the advent of peace, in search of property which they may choose to consider as constructively "captured or abandoned."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in *Aldridge v. Williams*, 3 How. R., 24, says, that in searching for the intent of a statute, the Courts, if necessary, may look "to the public history of the times in which it was passed."

When this system was adopted, we were engaged in open war. The Southern Confederacy had great armies in the field. The conflict had already endured for years; it continued thereafter, in all its majestic proportions, for more than two years. However certain the ultimate result may have been considered by Congress, the time of reaching that result could not have been foreseen. Indeed, the predictions concerning it, once so freely indulged in, had wholly ceased. It is not strange, therefore, that the acts contain no express clause of ceaser.

Indeed, it scarcely would have occurred to any lawyer framing these statutes, that such a law was needed. Every act which they authorize is, in its own nature, a war measure, and such as no humane or just legislator could contemplate as proper in time of peace.

The limitation as to time is, therefore, inherent; it is inseparable from the things sanctioned; and it is impossible to construe the acts otherwise than as introducing a set of regulations for carrying on war and making effective the pending hostilities.

The collection of captured property for the purpose of removing and disposing of it, is, in its own nature a war measure. Gathering up the spoils of war is not likely to remain, in any important degree, an unexecuted office, after the re-establishment of peace.

The victor usually seizes his prize the moment it is won. He rarely awaits the uncertain fortunes of a future battle, or stays his hand till the advent of peace. He must, indeed, overcome his antagonist first; but, that accomplished, he usually signalizes the earliest instant of relaxation from the rigorous exigencies of combat by securing his prey. There is, therefore, something quite incongruous in appointing a collector of captured property in time of peace—

an intent to authorize it cannot be supposed, unless the lawgiver expresses it in the most clear and positive manner.

As the words are defined in the acts, considerations of essentially a similar nature apply to what is called "abandoned property." Whenever, during the war, a portion of the hostile territory should temporarily fall within the military occupation or control of the Federal forces, it would tend to cripple and embarrass the enemy, and might, therefore, be deemed a due exercise of belligerent rights to seize and convert to the Government all property found in such territory, without the immediate protection of its owner. His absence would afford some evidence that he was in active service as an enemy, and his property might be deemed, in some sense, derelict; and, therefore, a perfectly legitimate subject of governmental control or guardianship. (Kent's Com., pp. 358, 359, Eighth Ed.; 12 Ohio R., by Stanton, p. 87.)

We thus perceive that both of the objects in view were temporary; were such as, under any circumstances, probably, in the contemplation of Congress, could only exist during the continuation of hostilities; and hence, the manifest propriety of concluding that the system was in like manner temporary.

Certain provisions are obviously limited in point of duration to the war. Section 4 of the first act is one of these. (12 Statutes at large, p. 830.) Yet here we observe the same absence of any expressed limitation as to time. If such a limitation must be implied in one part of the act, surely it may be implied in another part.

The moment we look upon its institution as a war measure, to be pursued only during the prevalence of hostilities, the system loses all its odiousness, and the acts establishing it are relieved from any and every objection.

Independently of these general proofs of an intent that these agencies were merely temporary expedients to be employed only during the emergency which induced a resort to them, there are several pointed indications to the same effect, which are fully equivalent to the most direct and unequivocal expression:

First. The very definition given as a guide to the agents in ascertaining what is "abandoned property," is itself conclusive. It is that property shall be regarded as abandoned when the owner is voluntarily absent therefrom, "and engaged in aiding or encouraging the rebellion." How can this category exist after "the suppression of the rebellion," or when there is no rebellion?

Second. The acts nowhere license these Treasury Agents to make captures by themselves or their employees. Under that head their authority is expressly confined to collecting and receiving property already captured by others. Upon general principles, the naval and military forces of the United States alone had authority to make captures as prize of war.

The theory that public hostilities between contending nations or parties produce a war between each and every subject or citizen of each belligerent power, and each and every subject or citizen of the other, has no practical effect except as a prohibition of intercourse. (Chitty's Law of Nations, p. 22; Woolsey on International Law, §119, Second Ed.)

Shocking, indeed, would be the results of reducing that theory to practice in international wars. The veriest demon who ever appeared in human form could not think of applying it to insurrections or civil wars. Accordingly it is a settled doctrine that captures can only be made by the public armed forces of the sovereign power, or under commissions expressly granted for the purpose, as in the case of privateers.

The Cape of Good Hope, 2 C. Rob., 292, and cases cited in note to p. 285.

Hazlitt and Roche's Manual, pp. 98, 300.

Vattel, Book 3, ch. 15, §§228, 231, 118.

Upton, on Mar. Warfare, p. 118.

2 Kent's Com., pp. 94 to 97, side paging Eighth Ed.

Whewell's Elements of Morality, §1, 159.

Upton, at p. 100 says, that "private citizens cannot of themselves, and without commission from the supreme power, take any step in relation to the perpetration of acts of hostility."

The strength of this rule is proven by the special exceptions of a power to recapture prizes taken by the enemy. In the *Helen*, 3 C. Rob., 255, Sir William Scott says: "It is the duty of every subject to assist his fellow-subjects in war, and to retake their property from the possession of the enemy. No commission is necessary to give a person so employed a title to the reward which the policy of the law allots to that meritorious act of duty." To this same effect, see *The Urania*, 5 C. Rob., 150.

It is, of course, true, that when a private person, without authority, happens to seize the property of an enemy, and brings it within the control of his government *aggrante bello*, the government would be at liberty to exercise its own belligerent powers, and itself effect a regular capture. (Hazlitt & Roche, 314.)

But we are dealing with a question of construction; and this necessary and indisputable limit of the doctrine last referred to, does not at all conduce to show that when creating a collecting bureau in the treasury, a purely civil department, Congress designed to create a corps of captors. Had such a thing been in contemplation, the Department of War or of the Navy would have been its appropriate location.

On a couple of occasions, whilst dissenting from the Court, and alone or nearly so, Judge Story maintained, with no little vehemence, that if a private person, acting without commission or authority, should seize property of the enemy which was subject to capture by the laws of war, he would not be "guilty of a very enormous crime." (8 Cranch, 134.)

His cognate proposition, that in such a case the sovereign might adopt the act and give it "the effect of a full and perfect ratification," seems to have been since approved. (8 Cranch, 134; 9 Cranch, 449; 2 Black, 671.) All this may be conceded without weakening the general doctrine or lessening its efficacy as a proof that Congress did not, by the words employed in these acts, intend to authorize captures, *jure belli*, by the immediate action of these non-combatant Treasury Agents.

It will hereafter be shown that capture in time of peace, is a solecism in language, and that if allowed, it would be an anomaly in legislation.

Third. Applications to the Court of Claims for relief against mistake or injustice committed by the Treasury Agents are expressly allowed by the first of these acts. But they are only allowed to be presented within two years "after the suppression of the rebellion." This is what jurists denominate a statute of limitations, and like all such statutes, it begins to run against all claims at a fixed and designated point of time. That point of time is "the suppression of the rebellion." Now, nothing is better settled in legal reasoning than that the limitations can never begin to run against a claim before the claim itself has arisen. No authority need be cited for the proposition; it is familiar to lawyers; its necessity is absolute, and common sense precludes a denial. It follows, then, as an inevitable conclusion, that Congress must have understood and intended that no claim could arise after "the suppression"—a result only to be attained by limiting the power of these Treasury Agents to the period prescribing that "suppression."

Under the construction given by the Treasury Department, its agents may continue to pick up cotton throughout the South as captured or abandoned, for ten years to come. They may sell it and dispose of the proceeds as the Treasury Department shall please to direct; and for the last eight years of the time the despoiled owner will not be allowed even the poor resort of an appeal to the Court of Claims. Can such be the meaning of these acts?

The reason and nature of the thing, in this instance, prove incontestably that Congress intended the employment of these Treasury Agents only as a measure auxiliary to, and connected with, the actual prosecution of hostilities, to be continued no longer than during the war. That intent, as has been shown, is also plainly written on the face of the acts. But if the fact were otherwise; if such was not the intent; if judicial science demands the interpretation that Congress really designed the continuance of this practice in time of peace, then it is clear to my mind that the acts are, to this extent, and so far as this

effect or operation is concerned, not only inconsistent with all sound principle, but absolutely unconstitutional, and therefore void.

Some reasons for this latter conclusion will now be stated. In 1665, while war existed between Great Britain and Holland, letters of marque and reprisal were guaranteed by the crown to one Carew, with an express clause that no future peace should derogate from them. When peace took place, Lord Nottingham, *on sci fa*, vacated the letters of marque concerning the special clause; he said, that "as it was new and of a most strange nature, so it was utterly void in itself." And to the point that peace superseded all right to make captures under the letters of marque, he said that "this point was most clear by the constant practice of all ages and nations." (3 Swanston, 671.)

The guarantees of life, liberty and property contained in the Constitution are admitted on all hands to be in full force during the prevalence of peace. The fifth Constitutional amendment expressly declares that "no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law." It can hardly be supposed that there exists in the Government any power to forfeit property in time of peace, except for some crime committed by its owner or possessor; and the fundamental law requires that the "trial of all crimes shall be by Jury." (Const., Art. 3, §2, subs. 3.)

It has been seen that the acts in question prescribe the most informal and summary method of dealing with the property. Neither in the original reception of it by these Treasury Agents, nor at any subsequent stage of the proceedings, is anything permitted which can be deemed "due process of law." Congress, it is true, extended as much protection to the owners of property which might be carried off and sold under these acts, as was deemed consistent with the exigencies of the occasion. But the very redress against haste and error thus provided manifests the character of the whole system. It was an engine of war, and every portion of the machinery corresponds with the character; as such, it was well suited to the exercise of war power, but it was totally unfit for use in time of peace. This will be apparent on the slightest reflection. The first act provides that "any person claiming to have been the owner of any such abandoned or captured property, may at any time within two years after the suppression of the rebellion, prefer his claim to the proceeds thereof in the Court of Claims, and on proof to the satisfaction of said Court of his ownership of said property, or of his right to the proceeds thereof, and that he has never given any aid or comfort to the present rebellion, he may be allowed to receive the residue of such proceeds, after the deduction of any purchase money which may have been paid, together with the expenses of transportation and sale of said property, and any other lawful expenses attending the disposition thereof." (12 Statutes at large, p. 820, §3.)

Let us look for a moment at the nature of this relief. In the first place, no jury is allowed in the Court of Claims. In the next place, the claimant must fail, unless he is able to convince the Judges of his innocence by affirmative proof on his own part, which is a very different thing from the Constitutional guaranty of private rights, that no man shall be subjected to loss until the Government shall, in a regular prosecution, produce sufficient competent evidence to convince a jury of his guilt. (9 Peters, 691.)

By these acts the owner is not to be restored to his property by the Court of Claims, in any event, or even to just compensation for it. He is only admissible, at best, to a participation in the proceeds of a forced sale, made by others, in such manner as they thought fit, and in a market chosen by themselves. From these proceeds, too, there must first be deducted all expenses attendant upon carrying off and selling his property. The Court can allow no claim, unless made by one who proves to its satisfaction "his ownership of the property," and "his right to the proceeds thereof," superadding affirmative evidence of his entire innocence. Such facts involve, as a necessary consequence, a judgment not only by the Court of Claims, but by every honest mind, that the seizure and sale by executive officers, if made in time of peace, was a wrong of the most flagitious character; and yet, by the terms of the act, the depredators are to be allowed all the expenses incurred by them in perpe-

trating the outrage. It is not necessary to inquire whether, in this proceeding, the Court of Claims would act as a judicial tribunal, or merely as a board of advisers to the Executive Department. (*Gordon v. United States*, 2 Wallace's U. S. R. 561, Washington Reporter No. 8, p. 6.)

Without entering into that question, every lawyer will concede that taking away a man's property and turning him over to a remedy so lame and halting as this legislation affords, is an act which manifestly transcends the limitations upon governmental power prescribed by the Constitution. Nor can this conclusion be at all affected by any result of the political discussions now on foot touching the legal *status* of the so-called insurgent States. Georgia, within whose limits the seizure of this cotton occurred, was one of the original thirteen. Whether she is a State or Territory, or whether her people are citizens or aliens, the Constitutional restraints upon governmental power over private property are equally applicable. The Government has no more authority to seize for its own use the property of aliens than the property of citizens; whatever it may tolerate in time of war, the Constitution contains no license to plunder strangers in time of peace.

If it could be held that our Congress had actually granted authority to the Treasury to prosecute a war against the South after peace was restored, and our armies were disbanded, it cannot be doubted that our Courts would act as firmly on the occasion as the conscience-keeper of the British King did with his sovereign's improvident license to Carew. Adopting his enlightened principles, they would pronounce it *new* in legislation, *strange* in principle, and "utterly void in itself," as conflicting with the "constant practice of all ages and nations," and as violating a paramount law, the Constitution of the United States.

On these grounds I submit the conclusion that the acts above mentioned conferred no authority upon the Treasury Department, or its agents, to seize or remove the property in question. Whoever detains it from the owners against their will, is, in my judgment, a mere wrong-doer, and is responsible as such in the proper form of action.

II. It is above suggested that the class of Executive Agents, whose proceedings are under consideration, rarely construe their authority as being confined within any definite limit, or place their claims under any specific head. The line of action adopted in the present instance exemplifies the truth of this remark; it is also an involuntary concession that the practice introduced by these acts is only adopted to the prosecution of a war. No distinct cause of seizure has been stated. It has not been thought necessary, and, indeed, it must be admitted, that such a statement is only required when judicial process is invoked. That is the peaceful agent; war is waged with other weapons. The strong arm neither uses indictment nor *ex-officio* information. It strikes silently, or if a word accompanies the blow, it is merely some term of reproach or announcement of hostility. A simple war-cry, nothing more, accompanied the seizure of this property. It is understood that a vaguely reproachful epithet, coined for such purposes, has been applied. It has been called "blockade cotton." Nothing more definite than this can be gathered from any out-givings of those in authority concerning the seizure. As this new nickname is not in our legal nomenclature, nor to be found in our literature, it cannot be regarded as indicating much more than the existence of a desire to apply the Treasury Agent process, and divide the proceeds between the Department and its employees. Still it may be well to consider in succession the several grounds upon which the Treasury Agents may possibly attempt to justify their action.

1. Besides the "captured and abandoned property" before spoken of, they were authorized to receive and collect certain other property. The before mentioned act of July 12, 1864, extended the first and sixth sections of the first Treasury Agent Act, so as to include property mentioned in the Non-intercourse Act of July 17, 1862. But these sections are silent as to the disposition to be made of the property collected or received. They merely authorize the collection and receipt. The Non-intercourse and Confiscation Acts both provided for regular judicial proceedings to establish and enforce all seizures made and forfeitures accruing under them. (12 Statutes at large, p. 258, §9; *Ib.*, p. 591, §7.)

The propriety of such proceedings before enforcing a forfeiture is so manifest, that the repeal of an express statutory provision, requiring a resort to them, cannot be implied. (9 Cowen, 506, 507; Crabbe's R., 370; Sedgwick on Statutory Construction, 123, 224.)

It is, therefore, quite plain, that, as to property mentioned in the Non-intercourse and Confiscation Acts, and not coming under the description of captured or abandoned property, these Treasury Agents never had any other authority than simply to receive it and place it within the control of a Judicial Court of the United States, so that proper proceedings might be had therein for its condemnation. (Wheaton on Captures, p. 728, 729; Upton, p. 126; Jecker v. Montgomery, 13 Howard's U. S. R., 516; Hazlitt & Roche's Manual, p. 306, 307.)

The power of seizure and sale, without process of law, never extended to it. Besides, there are conclusive objections, on other grounds, to any claim of power in the Treasury Agents to interfere with this property under either the Non-intercourse Act of 1861, or the Confiscation Act of 1862.

It is a product of the insurgent territory. This justifies a presumption that it had never been outside of that territory until it was seized and carried off in January, 1866, by the Treasury Agents themselves. Consequently, there is no color for a suggestion that it had ever become confiscated under the Non-intercourse Act of 1861.

The Non-intercourse Act (12 Statutes, p. 257, §5) is evidently an application to the insurgent territory of that principle in the general public law of nations, which renders unlawful all commerce between the respective subjects of the powers between whom war exists.

Lawrence Wheaton on Int. Law, part 4, ch. 1, §13.

The Rapid, 8 Cranch, 161; *Id.*, 179, 454.

In harmony with the general law, it declares that intercourse to be unlawful only "so long as such condition of hostility shall continue," and the forfeiture is denounced against the goods, etc., "coming" into the adhering States or "proceeding" to the insurgent territory. The vessel or vehicle "conveying" the same is, in like manner, subjected to forfeiture. This language seems ill-adapted to express any other intent than that which pervades the whole public law on this subject, i. e., that the vehicle or property must be taken or seized *in delicto*, and during the continuance of the prohibition against intercourse. The vessel or goods must be in the condition of coming, proceeding, or conveying, in order to be a subject of seizure; and that condition could only exist whilst hostilities were still pending. The ordinary forms in which the Municipal Law declares its penalties are quite different. For an illustration of this see the Non-intercourse Act of March 1, 1809. (Statutes at large, vol. 2, p. 529, §5.)

The intensity which was imparted to the prohibition of intercourse with the insurgents by §4 of the second Treasury-Agent Act (13 Statutes at large, p. 376), is an additional reason for a construction which confines the consequent forfeitures to cases of seizure actually made during the "condition of hostility."

I am of opinion that, according to the true construction and effect of the Non-intercourse Act of 1861, property not actually seized for the offense during the continuance of hostilities, cannot be subsequently taken, captured, seized, or forfeited, for or by any reason of any violation of that act, or of the amendatory section last referred to.

The Confiscation Act of 1862 clearly confines its action within the same limits. The list of persons to be deprived is thus introduced: "That to insure the speedy termination of the present rebellion, it shall be the duty of the President to cause the seizure of all the estate and property, money, stocks, credits and effects of the persons hereinafter named; and to apply and use the same and the proceeds thereof for the support of the army of the United States." (12 Statutes at large, p. 590, §§5, 6.) The seizure is only authorized in order to insure a speedy termination of an existing rebellion; and that it may conduce directly and solely to that end, the whole fruits are, in exclusive terms, directed to be applied to the support of the army engaged in attaining it. For no other end or purpose was any such seizure sanctioned. When the rebellion no longer existed, it could not be more perfectly terminated; and, consequently,

it is manifest that the right of seizure given by this act ceased with the return of peace. *Cessat ratio cessat et ipsa lex* is a maxim. Courts often apply it when the reason, motive or object of the act is only ascertainable by indirect reasoning upon extrinsic facts, and by means of remote inferences. Here the Legislature expressly declares, in plain language, the object of the seizure which it authorizes. When a seizure cannot be made for that purpose, it is not within the law or permitted thereby.

The absence of any evidence or imputation bringing this property within the terms of the Confiscation Act of 1862, may be stated in passing. But, as others exist which are so controlling it rather weakens the case to offer that objection.

2. The property cannot be regarded as "abandoned" within the meaning of that word in the Treasury-Agents Acts, for a reason before explained. The rebellion had ceased, and therefore it is impossible to show, as these acts require, that when the property was seized it belonged to a person who was voluntarily absent from it, "and engaged in aiding or encouraging the rebellion."

3. The only ground that can be anticipated as a possible resort, is that the property may be claimed under some head of capture as prize of war.

The first section of the act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, passed August 6, 1861, applied only to property used or employed, etc., in aiding, abetting or promoting the insurrection, and declared such property a subject of prize and capture. It is not understood that the Treasury pretends to have any evidence tending, in the slightest degree, to bring this property within the operation of that act. But if such evidence existed, the property could not be summarily taken, carried off, and sold by these agents or by any other officers of the United States; for the act expressly, and in the most peremptory language, requires that all prizes captured under it shall be regularly proceeded against in a District or Circuit Court of the United States. (Statutes at large, 319, §1.)

There is even a higher and more controlling objection to any claim through the provisions of this act. Under a head devoted to the general subject of capture, in every aspect that can have any imaginable relevancy to the matter in hand, it will be shown that the right of making prizes necessarily, and in all cases, ceases with the war in which it originated.

III. The Government of the United States asserts that the war neither impaired nor suspended any power of municipal legislation that it ever possessed in respect to the territory of the insurgent States, or in respect to any inhabitant or citizen thereof, or any person or property therein; and that, during the war, it also possessed in respect to such territory, all property therein, its inhabitants and citizens, and all persons, whether citizens or neutrals, trading therewith, all the power and authority which, by the general law of nations, would have belonged to it as a belligerent making war against that territory, in case the same had been altogether outside our Union, and owned and inhabited by a foreign independent nation. (2 Black. U. S. R., 673; 4 Cranch, 273; Phila. A. M. Law Reg., vol. 5, new series, 151.)

This is assumed, and it is also assumed that the right of capture, as prize, *jure belli*, recognized by modern public law, might have been extended during the war by act of Congress, and thus carried to the utmost possible extreme of predatory warfare against all property within the insurgent States, or affected by the doctrine of "hostile character," as that phrase is understood by publicists. But except so far as such acts may have been passed by Congress, and beyond the limits of such as were passed, it may safely be affirmed, in the language of the Supreme Court, speaking to the very point, by Chief-Justice Marshall, that Courts are "bound by the law of nations which (for this purpose) is a part of the law of the land." (The *Nereide*, 9 Cranch, 423.)

The point was also fully and elaborately vindicated by the same authority, in *Brown v. the United States*; 8 Cranch, pp. 123 to 129; see Hazlett and Roche, 312.

Modern public law does not authorize a belligerent to capture, as prize of war, property belonging to private individuals, unless it be found afloat at the time of capture. (*Brown v. the United States*; 8 Cranch pp. 123 and 124;

Woolsey on Int. Law, §§120, §§139, Second Ed.; Wheaton on Captures, p 15; Lawrence's Wheaton on Int. Law, part 4, ch. 2, §7.)

Congress has never extended the right of capture beyond the limits assigned to it by the law of nations, except by the first section of the before-mentioned act, to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, passed August 6, 1861. (12 Statutes at large, p. 319, §1.)

The language of this act is, that the property described in it "is hereby declared to be the lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found." Capture *ex vi termini* imports a seizure as prize *jure belli*. (Black v. The Main Insurance Co., 11 Johnson's Reports, 293.) The whole set of words employed in this act make an exceedingly clear case of language selected to create a supplement to the right of capture allowed by the law of nations, and precisely adapted to that purpose. The act must be so regarded. It is silent as to the time during which such captures must be made; and as it denounces no forfeiture except through the instrumentality of a "capture" *eo nomine*, that question is determinable by the general law.

The right of capture results from, and is exclusively incident to, a state of war. It does not exist for an instant after the war has terminated. This doctrine is very strictly adhered to. (Wheaton on Captures, pp. 306, 307.)

Property which during a war is in a condition to be captured or otherwise taken, *jure belli*, does not, *ipso facto*, vest in the belligerent to whose power it is thus subject. He must exercise his power before the war terminates, or never. The return of peace extinguishes all right to make prizes. From that moment private property is sacred. He who takes it, except in the due course of judicial proceedings, contravenes the law. Taking through mistake is an actionable trespass. Taking with knowledge that the war has ceased, and with intent to deprive the owner is a robbery, if committed with open violence, and a theft, if marked by secrecy.

Wheaton on Captures, pp. 300, 301, §§3, 4.

Hazlett and Roche, 120; The Mentor, 1 C. Rob., 179.

Lawrence's Wheaton, part 4, ch. 4, §5.

The case of Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores, reported in Edward's Adm. R., p. 62, is very instructive on this point.

A decree was pronounced in the English Admiralty for costs and damages in favor of the Spanish claimant of a Spanish vessel. Before this decree was executed, war broke out between Spain and England. After peace had been restored, an application to enforce the decree was resisted on the ground that the costs and damages had inured to the Crown. It was assumed that these costs and damages, being recovered in a proceeding *in rem*, were appendant to the "ship and cargo;" so that, on breaking out of the war, the Crown might have seized them in the like manner as the ship herself might have been captured as prize of war had she remained in an English port.

The case, therefore, presented the precise question whether a title could accrue to the Crown without actual seizure during the war. The argument for the Spanish owner is reported as follows: "During the continuance of the war the Crown might have interposed its claim if it had thought proper; but, where that has not been done, where no seizure has been made on the part of the Crown, the right of property remains in the same state in which it was before (the) hostilities."

Sir Walter Scott says:

"It is true that the intervention of hostilities puts the property of the enemy in such a situation that confiscation may ensue; but unless some step is taken for that purpose, unless there is some legal declaration of the forfeiture, the right of the owner revives on the return of peace. This is an acknowledged principle in the Courts of Common Law, borrowed, in all probability, from the general law of nations. . . . Here there was no bodily possession, nor, indeed, could there be; but still some judicial act might have been done declaratory of the forfeiture to the Crown of those rights which are vested in the claimant under the decree for costs and damages. It appears, however, that no step was taken for this purpose on the part of the Crown; and I am, therefore,

of opinion that the rights of the Spanish proprietor do revive." (See the *Grotius*, 9 Cranch, 370.)

The same doctrine is very emphatically laid down by Judge Story in an opinion marked by the most extreme assertion of belligerent rights. (8 Cranch, pp. 147, 148.) He says: "The title of the enemy is not divested by war, but remains in *proprio vigore*, until a hostile seizure and possession has impaired his title." And, adds he: "If a peace should intervene, it (the property) would be completely beyond the reach of subsequent condemnation."

It follows that, as the property in question was not seized as prize during the war, any attempt to capture it subsequently is wholly without warrant, and can confer no right upon the Government of the United States, or on any one pretending to act under its authority.

By way of recapitulation, it may be remarked:

First. The Treasury-Agents' Acts could not, constitutionally, authorize a capture at the time this property was seized, if it had been so intended.

Second. The same objection applies to any claim which the Government might make to hold it as a subject of capture under the act of 1861, concerning property used for insurrectionary purposes. (12 Statutes at large, p. 319.) And,

Third. In any of the various aspects in which the name of "blockade-cotton" might be thought applicable, the capture, if any there was, having been made after the cessation of hostilities, came too late, and was utterly ineffectual.

This, certainly, is sufficient to dispose of the whole question. Still, it may be satisfactory to consider somewhat more in detail the grounds upon which the Treasury or its agents might claim this property as a subject of capture under the law of blockade and contraband.

That it had ever been exported or imported can hardly be pretended. We may safely assume that the cotton never was itself run into or out of a Southern port, in violation of a blockade; but it has been surmised that certain ideas, somewhat analogous to this, may have found a place in somebody's imagination. It may have been thought that it was purchased with the proceeds or profits of some successful blockade-running adventures. Besides, to lend a certain fanciful gravity or enormity to the supposed sin of evading a blockade, it may be suggested that the adventurers were a powerful company or association, incorporated or unincorporated. Perhaps, too, the Treasury Agents, deeming it difficult to trace this particular property to a purchase with the actual profits or proceeds of blockade running, may think it a sufficient color for their acts to insinuate that it belongs or belonged to some individual or company engaged in blockade-running. All these possible aspects of the vague accusation applied in the name above alluded to, have been presented. They will be considered.

During the war, intercourse between the adhering States and the territory proclaimed to be in insurrection was forbidden by public law and by acts of Congress. It is presumed that in reference to this cotton, no breach of this interdict will be asserted. If it should be, the invalidity of any claim founded thereon has been shown.

But the law of blockade and contraband, as connected with the claim of the Treasury Department, will be examined in reference to any possible acts of foreigners, or of the people of the States or Territories so declared to be in insurrection. In the prize cases, it was determined that "civil war produces in the nation two independent parties," and that these two parties "must necessarily be considered as constituting, at least for a time, two separate bodies, two distinct societies. Having no common superior to judge between them, they stand precisely in the same predicament as two nations who engaged in a contest, and have recourse to arms" (p. 667). From this it is deducible that the laws of war, including the rules concerning blockade and contraband, precisely as they are recognized and established in the law of nations, apply to such a war. As far as occasion occurred, the Supreme Court has uniformly applied

them without making any distinction on account of the conflict being a civil or internal, and not a foreign war. (5 Phila. Am. Law Reg., N. S., p. 163.)

There is, however, no need of a resort to this high authority. Confiscation, without any law, cannot be claimed as a right of the government; there is no common law of the United States declaring offenses or denouncing forfeitures. (7 Cranch, 35; 13 Howard's U. S. R., 563.) There is no act of Congress on the subject of blockades or concerning contraband of war, and it is therefore clear, under these heads of complaint, that no law can be appealed to as a justification of the seizure in question, unless it is to be found in what is called international or public law.

In respect to the point under consideration, the rules of public law concerning blockade and contraband are strictly analogous. Chief-Justice Parsons, in *Richardson v. the Marine Insurance Company*, 6 Mass. R., p. 114, says: "Goods contraband of war are of two descriptions—munitions of war, the property of a neutral bound from a foreign neutral port to the territory of either of the belligerents, and every species of neutral goods bound from a neutral port to a port belonging to either of the powers at war, and known to be blockaded by the other power." The strictness of this analogy is forcibly illustrated in the *Trende Sostre*, 6 C. Rob., ad. 390, note. The rules in respect to capture being founded on the same reasons, are precisely the same in both cases, and, therefore, the subject will be here treated of together.

During war a belligerent may rightfully, to the extent of his physical power, cut off the resources and cripple the commerce of his enemy, by maintaining a blockade of that enemy's ports; and he is also at liberty to prevent neutrals from carrying to his enemy articles which, from their usual connection with the support of hostilities, have been designated as contraband of war. The latter right extends to all parts of the enemy's territory, whether blockaded or not; but the only authority conceded to the belligerent by public law for the enforcement of either of these rights, is that of capturing, as prize of war, the vessel and cargo while engaged in the attempt.

It is proper to say, whilst engaged in the attempt, for in both cases success on the part of the carrier in achieving the act screens him from all liability to loss or injury.

Of course, this could not be the case if the act was unlawful, but it is not so. The idea of illegality does not attach to it in any just sense of the term. The law of nations deems the attempt of the carrier lawful, and the defeat of it by capture equally so. The law of nations will not sanction either the breach of a blockade by force, or any forcible resistance to capture for attempting it, or any forcible resistance to the search of a belligerent for contraband articles. (1 Kent's Com., pp. 154, 155, side paging, 8th Ed., and cases cited in notes.) But for that rule it might be said, that in this branch of the law power makes right. With that single qualification the saying is quite applicable. Mr. Woolsey, in his "Treatise on International Law," at p. 278, sec. 169, a 2d Ed., says: "The law of nations on this subject has been viewed as a kind of compromise between neutral and belligerent rights. Neutrals may legitimately carry on all sorts of trade, and belligerents may prevent all. Hence, nations have waived their rights and come to a certain middle ground; some rights of both parties are saved, and some thrown overboard."

Chancellor Kent, in 1799, while judge in the Supreme Court, speaking of contraband, says: "The fact is, that the law of nations does not declare the trade to be unlawful. It only authorizes the seizure of the contraband articles by the belligerent power." Judge Morgan Lewis, a revolutionary patriot, who was a soldier in both of our wars with Great Britain, as well as all the other judges, concurred on this point. (*Seton v. Low*, 1 John Cases, p. 5.)

This case was cited, and the doctrine reiterated and applied by the Supreme Court of Connecticut in 1822. (*Pond v. Smith*, 4 Conn. R., 303.)

In *Richardson v. the Maine Insurance Company*, 6 Mass. R., 112, 113, the Court, by Chief-Justice Parker, says: "It is agreed by every civilized State, that if the subject of a neutral power shall attempt to furnish either of the belligerent sovereigns with goods contraband of war, the other may rightfully

seize and condemn them as prize. But we do not know of any rule established by the law of nations, that the neutral shipper of goods contraband of war is an offender against his own sovereign, and liable to be punished by the municipal laws of his own country."

The same doctrine is affirmed by many other authorities.

The Santissima Trinidad, 7 Wheaton R. 340.

Dr. Lushington in the Helen, 11 London Jurist, Reports, new series, p. 1025.

Ex parte, Chavasse in re Grazebrook, a bankrupt, London Jurist, Reports, same vol., p. 400.

1 Kent's Com. 142, side paging, notes d. and e., 8th Ed.

Ib. Vol. 3, pp. 267, 268, and notes.

The right of capture thus accorded to the belligerent, does not apply to the cargo except whilst it is afloat, and it affects neither the ship nor the cargo after the termination of the particular voyage, in the course of which the carriage of contraband articles or breach of blockade was committed or designed, the word voyage being here employed to include not only the passage into the enemy's port, but the return passage from it.

Hazlitt & Roche, Mar. warfare, p. 175.

Chitty's Law of Nations, pp. 145, 146.

1 Duer on Ins., p. 688, Lecture 7, §63.

Woolsey on Int. Law, §188, 2d Ed.

The Margaret, 1 Acton, 335; Gen. Hamilton, 6 C. Rob., 62.

The Nancy, 3 C. Rob., 128, 127.

The Joseph, 8 Oranch, 454, 455.

Pratt on Contraband, p. 82, note 1.

Even this qualified and temporary right of capture when arising from a blockade, remains in force only during the continuance of the blockade; should the blockade cease before the termination of the voyage, the right of capture ceases with it. "It is true," said Sir William Scott in the *Lisette*, 6 Rob., Adm. 395, "that the offense incurred by a breach of blockade generally remains during the voyage, but that must be understood as subject to the condition that the blockade itself continues. When the blockade is raised a veil is thrown over everything that has been done."

1 Duer Ins., p. 689, Lecture 7, §68.

Woolsey, §188, 2d Ed.

Wheaton on Captures, 207, 208.

I need not repeat that the termination of the war itself put a complete end to the right of capture. It falls to the ground with all other belligerent rights.

As every ship which carried the contraband articles or violated the blockade is herself exempt from capture if she has the good fortune to complete her voyage without falling into the power of the objecting belligerent, and as the like exemption is accorded to the identical cargo that was itself successfully carried in or out, it cannot be necessary to add that the proceeds of such cargo on a sale thereof, or the goods which may have been purchased with such proceeds, are the lawful property of the carrier, and that this title thereto is altogether free from legal taint of any kind. This must be self-evident.

There is no instance of an attempt thus to extend the consequences of carrying contraband or violating a blockade. It is quite immaterial whether the persons engaged in the act are few and feeble, or numerous and powerful; whether they are associated or act singly; whether they are trading firms or incorporated companies; whether they have defied or circumvented vigilance in a single instance only, or have pursued the practice habitually for a long period. These are questions of no relevancy. There are no running or continuous accounts in such matters; each voyage is regarded as a unit, having its own aim and attended by its own peril. Capture of ship and cargo as lawful prize may be the consequence, if the objecting belligerent should be able to interrupt the voyage; but neither moral nor legal guilt is predicable of it, and no other prejudicial consequences are entailed upon it by the carrier.

Woolsey on Int. Law, §188, 2d Ed.

1 Kent's Com., 151, side paging, 8th Ed.

IV. We have seen that upon any construction of the Treasury Agent Acts, the powers, which in this instance are claimed under them, ceased with the termination of hostilities. Common sense proves, and it is an universally received opinion, that every right of capture acquired by war, or arising from the existence of that condition, terminates immediately upon the return of peace.

Desperation may, therefore, prompt a resort to the idea that, in some technical sense, the war still exists; or, at least, that it existed to as late a period as January, 1866, when the cotton in question was seized.

The fact is manifestly otherwise. For months prior to that transaction, all resistance to Federal authority had ceased, the flag of Southern independence no longer courted the breeze, not a single bayonet of the Confederacy confronted Federal power, and the Confederacy itself was extinguished as completely as if its last champion had perished when Stonewall Jackson fell. Submission to the authority of the victorious North was absolute and perfect throughout the whole region which had been "designated as an insurrection."

The question then arises whether the Treasury Department can ignore the plain and undeniable fact, and by its mere *sic volo*, keep on foot an unilateral war against the vanquished people of the South.

No such power exists in any subordinate branch of the executive department. To admit that it exists in both the executive and legislative departments combined, would be a surrender of too much. Until the judiciary shall unite with the political departments in subverting constitutional liberty, such a surrender will not be made, nor then, unless a majority of the people shall have become fit to wear the yoke. If a power thus to create out of nothing, a war by mere construction, were conceded to the government, it may be doubted whether its consequences would be confined to continuing against the unresisting vanquished a war that might last forever. There is reason to apprehend that it would also take from the people of the victorious States all civil remedies for any arbitrary imprisonment of their persons, devastation of their property, or otherwise oppressive acts which official caprice, conscious of power and forgetting right, might choose to inflict upon them.

Prior to the recent troubles in the Southern States, it had never occurred to the judicial mind, or probably to any portion of our people, that the constitutional limitations upon governmental power over individuals, their contracts, or their property, were susceptible of being set aside by any condition of things that could possibly arise. But it seems to have been found that civil war exposed the opponents of the government during its continuance to just such treatment, whatever it might be, as in the opinion of the political departments the exigencies of public affairs demanded; and that under the pressure of that necessity, which, in the case of individuals, is commonly said to know no law, these same departments might exercise powers very nearly as unlimited, if not absolutely so, in every part of the country, and over all persons. In that silent deference to prevalent ideas which prudence may sometimes justify, this opinion concedes, as far as may be necessary to the validity or effect of any act of Congress to which it refers, that the saying *inter arma silent leges* applied to the Constitution of the United States during the whole period covered by the existence of the war by the late Southern confederacy and the Federal government. But no further concession should be made. In time of peace the government cannot exercise belligerent powers within the country against any person or property therein. (Phila. Am. Law Reg., vol. 5, N. S., p. 151.)

During that condition, at least, the Constitution has full effect and its limitations cannot be transcended. Probably this will be conceded, and resort had to the position, that war having once existed, and been recognized and belligerent powers assumed, the war may be deemed to continue, until in some solemn or distinct form, Congress or the executive shall have inaugurated a peace. If this were law, perhaps the continuance of the rebellion might be asserted. For it is true that no treaty of peace has been made with the lately insurgent States. Congress has not declared "the suppression of the rebellion," nor has the President issued any executive proclamation, precisely and in terms announcing it. No such doctrine can be maintained. The constitution may be practically sus-

pended by the disorder and turbulence incident to an actually existing war, but fiction is a weapon quite too feeble to accomplish such a result.

Whether the existence of civil war is a matter of fact, or depends in any degree upon the observance of forms, was the precise point in issue between the learned judges of the Supreme Court in the prize cases. (2 *Black's U. S. R.* 365.)

It was asserted by the minority, that before civil war can exist in contemplation of law, it must be recognized or declared by the sovereign power; that it "can exist only by an act of Congress, which requires the consent of two of the great departments of the Government, the Executive and the Legislature." (P. 690). But the majority decided precisely the reverse. They held that the power of Congress to declare war, conferred by the Constitution, was confined to hostilities with a foreign power; that "civil war exists when the regular course of justice is interrupted by revolt or insurrection, so that courts of justice cannot be kept open." (P. 687.) They stated this to be the "true test of its evidence." They defined "war" to be that state in which a nation prosecutes its rights by force. They held that civil war need not be authenticated by documents, that it does not depend on recognition, but is an actual, as contradistinguished from a technical or constructive condition. In like manner, they held that whether at any point of time there exists a rebellion or insurrection of such quality and proportions as to constitute a civil war, and thereby to warrant the exercise of belligerent powers, or let into operation any other than the regular methods of Government prescribed by the Constitution, was a question determinable by the courts upon the actual facts. The proof of these facts was shown to be of a public nature not such as need be submitted to a jury, but such as the judiciary was bound to notice *ex-officio*. The Court declared its judgment on these points in these emphatic words: "As a civil war is never publicly proclaimed *eo nomine*, against insurgents, its actual existence is a fact in our domestic history which the Court is bound to notice and know."

The soundness of this decision will not be questioned by the Government, or by any court in the country. Its doctrines are at this moment the sheet-anchor of union, and the best safeguard of private right. It settles that a war within the United States, between the Government on one side, and the States or the people, or any portion of either upon the other, cannot be affirmatively declared by Congress. It decides, by necessary inference, that such a condition cannot be created in opposition to the fact by the mere silence of that body. It would, indeed, have been a great defect in our fundamental law, if it had permitted either of the political departments, by the mere assertion of a falsehood or the persistent non-recognition of a known truth, to cast off from itself all constitutional restraints, and thus enable itself to outlaw a disfavored portion of the Union. By determining that neither the institution of a civil war, nor the continuance of it is within the power of Congress, and that the existence or non-existence of such a condition is a fact determinable *ex certa scientia* by the judiciary, the Supreme Court has furnished the people with an impregnable defence against the abuses of executive power in time of peace.

The idea that any forms were required to consummate peace, as a legal fact after its actual restoration, finds no more countenance in any act of Congress than in the reason of the thing. Congress and the President both recognized the "rebellion," but in their acts and proclamations concerning it, each of them constantly and in numerous forms indicated that it was looked upon as a temporary disturbance, and destined to ultimate suppression, either by the voluntary submission of the insurgents or by the force of the Government. Notwithstanding their desire to exercise the rights growing out of a war, they carefully abstained from applying to the conflict that designation. The word is not used in a single legislative or executive act. It must, of course, have been contemplated "that the suppression of the rebellion" was an occurrence which, *ipso facto*, and, without further ceremony, would terminate the war; and, as no declaration of war was ever made, it follows that no proclamation of peace was needed.

Besides, if an authoritative declaration that the rebellion was suppressed before the seizure in question, was desirable, it could be produced; it was made in the

most impressive form. The executive power is vested by the Constitution in the President of the United States. The same instrument makes it the duty of this high officer to "give to Congress from time to time information of the State of the Union." (Const., Art. 2 §1, suba. 1 and 3.)

In the exercise of this special power, he announced in the Senate, on the 18th December, 1865, "that the rebellion waged by a portion of the people against the properly constituted authorities of the Government *has been suppressed*." He added, "that the United States are in possession of every State in which the insurrection *existed*." In the same communication he refers incidentally to "that portion of the Union *late*ly in rebellion," and says that the people thereof "are yielding obedience to the laws and Government of the United States with more willingness and greater promptitude than under the circumstances could reasonably have been anticipated."

On a question so momentous and far-reaching in its consequence as the existence of peace or war, a subordinate executive officer can have no authority to overrule the recorded judgment of his immediate Superior—the Chief Magistrate of the Union.

The Courts, as we have seen, are bound to take official notice of the fact, and consequently, they can never permit him to gainsay it, and thus, in their presence, "impugn the known truth."

CHARLES O'CONOR.

February 28th, 1866.

We fully concur with Mr. O'Conor in his conclusions, as well as in the line of argument by which he arrives at them.

We are also of opinion that the Statute of March 12, 1863, is without any authority as law, from its not having received the approval and signature of the President until after the adjournment of Congress, and that thus the whole pretended legal support of the Treasury Agent system falls.

These 136 bales of cotton having been taken in replevin in the New York Supreme Court by the owners, from those assuming to be Treasury Agents, we are of opinion that the claim of the latter is wholly untenable, and that the owners must succeed in their action.

WM. H. EVARTS,
EDWARDS PIERREPONT,
JAS. T. BRADY.

New York, March 11, 1866.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—THE COTTON CROP OF THE SOUTH, AND WHAT IT COST TO PRODUCE COTTON, AND HOW GREAT A FIELD IS OPENED TO ENTERPRISE AND CAPITAL.

THE American Land Company, of New York, have published an extended list of plantations for sale, and attach to it the following considerations and statistics, which it would be well for our readers everywhere to consult:

"One hand can cultivate from eight to ten acres of cotton, and half as many more in corn.

"One mule will be required on an average to every two laborers. Two ploughs of all kinds to three mules.

"Upland produces about half a bale of cotton; best bottom-land a bale and upwards to the acre.

"A bale of ginned cotton averages 400 pounds.

"Cotton, as picked from the field, contains three pounds cotton-seed to one pound ginned cotton.

"One man will raise from eight to fifteen bales of cotton on bottom-land, from four to seven bales on upland, and, with either, 100 to 300 bushels of corn.

"The ploughing for cotton should be commenced in January. The seed should be planted in March. By the 15th of July the planter can tell, almost for a

certainty, his year's crop. The picking begins in August, and new cotton can be in the market by October.

"Upland plantations which were assessed for taxes at from \$25 to \$50 per acre before the war, with all the buildings and machinery complete, can now be purchased at from \$5 to \$8 per acre.

"Bottom-land plantations, which were assessed for taxes at from \$50 to \$120 per acre before the war, with all the buildings and machinery complete, can now be purchased at from \$10 to \$30 per acre.

"It requires about \$4,000 to grow 100 acres of cotton, \$1,000 of which can be got from the crop itself.

"Cotton plantations contain on an average from 900 to 2,500 acres—some as small as 400, others as large as 5,000 acres.

"The best cotton lands of the South are within six days from Boston. They are not as far from New England, and are not by any means as difficult of access as the lands in Kansas were; and the danger, even to those who magnify it most, is not half what it was to the settler there. Yet the danger deterred no one from going there. We had a principle to settle, and we settled it right, and it remains forever. Who will help settle, by New England energy, enterprise and economy, the question of free labor upon the cotton fields of the South? It will give almost fabulous returns, pecuniarily, for the investment; it will help the poor freedmen; it will help the society at the South; it will help the country at large.

"If you wish correct, wholesome and progressive ideas established on the ruins of the now prostrate slave-system of the South, do not sit idly, theorizing, moralizing and doubting, *but take hold and work*, and that speedily. Show to the South your faith in free labor, by furnishing it employment. The laborer starves and dies, or becomes a public charge and an outcast, for want of the employment your capital can give.

"The following estimate, No. 1, was made by a Northern man who is now a cotton planter in Louisiana, and is based on the high prices of the last two years. These expenses are twenty per cent. above the present rates.

"The estimate No. 2 is made by a planter of twenty years' experience in Alabama and Arkansas; a close calculation, with expenses at a minimum.

"The estimates Nos. 3 and 4 were made by a cotton planter of sixteen years' experience in planting in Mississippi; a fair calculation, and will be verified by experiment.

"The estimate No. 5 is made by a Georgia planter, for the uplands of Georgia, Alabama and North Carolina, &c.; a reliable estimate, and not too favorable.

"The estimate No. 6 is made by a man acquainted with planting more particularly in Tennessee and Virginia," &c.

ESTIMATE NO. 1.

Estimated Cost and Profit of a Cotton-Plantation of 1,000 Acres Open Land, and for Five Years, respectively:

| Cost of Farming 1,000 Acres Cotton, First Year. | Minimum. | Maximum. |
|---|--------------|----------|
| Hire and support of 100 laborers, from \$15 to \$25 per month, \$180 to \$300 per year..... | \$18,000.... | \$30,000 |
| Cost of 40 Mules, at \$100 to \$150..... | 4,000.... | 6,000 |
| Cost of Farming Implements, Carts, Harness, etc..... | 1,500.... | 2,000 |
| Rent of Land, \$3 to \$5..... | 3,000.... | 5,000 |
| Planter's services..... | 2,000.... | 3,000 |
| Overseer's services..... | 1,000.... | 1,500 |
| 2,000 bushels Corn, 50 cents to \$1..... | 1,000.... | 2,000 |
| Deduct what can be used from growing crop, viz: | | |
| Half of hire Lands..... | \$9,000 to | 15,000 |
| " Rent of Land..... | 3,000 " | 5,000 |
| " Planter's services..... | 2,000 " | 3,000 |
| " Overseer's services..... | 500 " | 750 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | \$14,500 to | 23,750 |

From \$15,000 to \$25,000 for first year's capital.

The crop begins to yield returns in August.

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Total cost first year..... | \$30,500 to 49,500 |
| Deduct..... | 14,500 to 23,750 |

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Total capital required to be advanced for first year..... | \$16,000 to 25,750 |
|---|--------------------|

Cost of Farming any Year after the First.

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| Cost First Year..... | \$30,500 to \$49,500 |
|----------------------|----------------------|

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Deduct cost of mules..... | \$4,000 to \$6,000 |
|---------------------------|--------------------|

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| “ “ corn..... | 1,000 to 2,000 |
|---------------|----------------|

“ “ for support of hands; corn

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| and pork raised; say $\frac{1}{2}$ hire and support 4,500 to 7,500.. | 9,500 to 15,500 |
|--|-----------------|

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Total cost any year after first..... | 21,000 | 34,000 |
|--------------------------------------|--------|--------|

| | | |
|----------------------|--------|--------|
| Cost first year..... | 30,500 | 49,500 |
|----------------------|--------|--------|

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Cost four subsequent years..... | 84,000 | 136,000 |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------|

| | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| | 114,500 | 185,500 |
|--|---------|---------|

Proceeds of 1,000 Acres for Five Years.

From 500 to 1,000 bushels of corn per annum; from 2,500 to 5,000 bushels for five years; from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 lbs. cotton for five years, say from 10 cents to 30 cents per lb.

Gross Proceeds with Cotton.

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| At 10 cents per lb..... | \$100,000 to \$200,000 |
|-------------------------|------------------------|

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| At 30 cents per lb..... | 300,000 to 600,000 |
|-------------------------|--------------------|

Without considering increase of stock.

ESTIMATE NO. II.

Cost of Farming a Plantation of 1,200 Acres Mississippi Bottom-Lands, 1,000 Open Land, for First Year:

| Expenses. | Profits. |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 80 hands, average of \$70 each. \$5,600 | 700 bales cotton, 400 lbs. per |
| 45 mules, cost \$125 each..... 5,625 | bale, 50c. per lb..... \$140,000 |
| 1 overseer, and board..... 1,000 | 5,000 bushels of corn raised.. 3,000 |
| 5,000 bushels corn..... 3,000 | Pork raised..... 3,000 |
| Hay..... 1,000 | Wagons, carts..... 1,000 |
| Cotton seed for planting..... 1,000 | Cows, &c..... 1,000 |
| 4 yokes of oxen..... 1,000 | Oxen..... 1,000 |
| Milch cows..... 1,000 | 45 Mules..... 5,000 |
| Stock hogs..... 1,000 | Fodder, hay, &c, &c..... 1,500 |
| Ploughs, carts, implements... 2,500 | Implements, &c..... 500 |
| Salt for stock..... 300 | Total..... \$156,000 |
| Medical care of hands..... 400 | Deduct expenses..... 25,425 |
| Oats, rye..... 200 | Profits..... \$128,875 |
| Axes, hoes, iron, steel, &c.... 500 | Deduct cost of land, at \$20 |
| Molasses..... 200 | per acre, 1,200 acres..... 24,000 |
| Incidental..... 1,200 | |
| Total..... \$25,425 | |
| | \$104,875 |

The land at the end of the year will advance 100 per cent.; all the supplies will be on plantation for next year, from the products of the first year.

ESTIMATE NO. III.

Estimate of the Expense and Profit in Cultivating 650 Acres of Mississippi or Yazoo Valley Land—say 500 Acres in Cotton and 150 Acres in Corn, for First Year:

| Expenses. | |
|--|----------|
| To hire of 50 hands, at \$120 per annum..... | \$6,000 |
| " 50 bbls. mess pork, at \$35 per bbl..... | 1,750 |
| " 12 bbls. molasses, at \$40 per bbl..... | 500 |
| " Clothing for 50 hands, at \$40 to \$50 each..... | 2,500 |
| " Medicines and medical attention..... | 750 |
| " 25 mules, at \$125 each..... | 3,125 |
| " 2,500 bushels of corn, at \$1 per bushel..... | 2,500 |
| " Fodder and hay..... | 1,000 |
| " Wagons, ploughs, hoes, gearing, &c., &c..... | 2,000 |
| " Wages of Superintendent, &c..... | 1,000 |
| " Oxen, milch cows, &c..... | 1,000 |
| " Stock hogs, to raise bacon for next year..... | 750 |
| " Incidental expenses..... | 2,125 |
| Total expenses..... | \$25,000 |

| Profits. | |
|--|----------|
| By 500 bales of cotton, of 400 lbs. each, at 30 cents per lb.... | \$60,000 |
| " 5,000 bushels of corn, at 75 cents per bushel..... | 3,750 |
| " Fodder and hay..... | 1,500 |
| | \$62,250 |
| Deduct expenses..... | 25,000 |

Leaving for net profit.....\$40,250

Such a plantation can be purchased for from \$10,000 to \$15,000; good buildings, &c. The land will double its value in the purchaser's hands, in addition to the profits of the crop.

A plantation in the Mississippi Valley that would have 650 acres of open land, would probably contain 1,500 in the entire tract; and estimating this at \$20 per acre, would make \$30,000, which, deducted from \$40,250, the net amount of profit would leave \$10,250 as clear profit, besides having paid for 1,500 acres of lands, and the mules, cattle, hogs, wagons, farming implements, &c.

ESTIMATE NO. IV.

If a first-class upland or creek-bottom plantation is cultivated, then, in 1,500 acres of land, 1,000 acres would probably be open land; and cultivating 700 acres of this in cotton and 300 acres in corn, the expenses of cultivation would not exceed, say \$27,000. The product would be at least:

| | |
|---|----------|
| 350 bales of Cotton, of 400 lbs. each, at 30 cents..... | \$42,000 |
| 3,000 bushels of Corn, at 75 cents..... | 4,500 |
| Fodder and Hay..... | 2,500 |
| | \$49,000 |
| Deduct Expenses..... | 27,000 |
| Leaving a clear profit of..... | \$22,000 |
| Deduct the cost of 1,500 acres of first-class upland..... | 15,000 |

Leaving for net profit:\$7,000

This leaves a clear profit of \$7,000, besides paying for 1,500 acres of first-class upland or creek-bottom land, and all the mules, cattle, hogs, and plantation tools and implements.

In the valley plantations generally, only about one-third the lands are opened for cultivation, and in the upland and creek-bottom plantations, about two-thirds; the remainder of the lands, in both cases, being wood and pasture lands, which can be reduced to cultivation, from year to year, as required.

In the Mississippi and Yazoo Valley, about ten acres, and in the upland and creek-bottom lands about twelve and a half to fourteen acres per hand, are cultivated in cotton. The average production of the valley lands is about 400 lbs. of cotton per acre, and, in the first-class upland and creek-bottom lands, about 200 to 300 lbs. per acre.

ESTIMATE NO. V.

ESTIMATE COST OF RAISING UPLAND COTTON.—Planting 100 acres in Cotton, and the same quantity in Corn; employing ten good hands.

Expenses:

| | |
|--|-------|
| 120 bushels Corn, \$90; Bacon, \$273 | \$363 |
| 5 mules, \$90; provender, \$360 | 450 |
| 5 Ploughs, \$40; 2 carts, \$60; 1 wagon, \$100 | 200 |
| Hoes, and other utensils | 100 |
| Ten laborers, \$120 | 1,200 |

Total

\$2,313

Products:

| | |
|---|----------|
| 300 lbs. Cotton to the acre, 30,000 lbs. at 40c | \$12,000 |
| 30 bush. Corn to the acre, 3,000 bush., at 75c | 2,250 |

\$14,250

Leaving net profit

\$11,937

Remember there is nothing difficult or scientific in the raising of cotton; the least skilled labor in the world, under the most unskillful direction and management, has made the fortunes of those engaged in it. Our New England farmers can learn it without an effort in a single season, or can manage a plantation with the aid of an experienced overseer, at once. Men laboring for a bare living here, can, at the South, with the present prices of land, amass a fortune in two years.

ESTIMATE NO. VI.

ESTIMATE ON A FARM OF 40 ACRES.—10 acres in Cotton, 15 acres in Corn, Potatoes, Fruit, &c., 15 acres in Wood-land, for fires, fences, &c., by his own labor only.

The land will cost from \$5 to \$20 per acre, according to locality and improvements. Corn at 75 cents per bushel; bacon, at 15 cents per pound.

Expenses per year:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Food for himself, Corn, 12 bush., \$9; Bacon, or equivalent, 200 lbs., \$30 | \$39 00 |
| Mule, \$100; provender, \$60 | 160 00 |
| Cost of cart, \$40; ploughs, \$12 | 52 00 |
| Hoes, &c. | 10 00 |

\$261 00

Products:

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| Clean Cotton, 3,000 lbs. | \$1,200 00 |
| Corn, 300 bushels | 225 00 |
| Fodder, 2,500 lbs. | 18 75 |

\$1,443 75

Deduct

261 00

Net profits

\$1,182 75

Add value of mule, &c.

120 00

\$1,302 75

It may be said, generally, that an industrious man can, on a farm of the

ove description, support himself, family and stock well, and raise from 6 to 10 bales of cotton clear of all expense. The estimate of 300 lbs. cotton per acre is quite moderate, as 400 lbs., and more, are often raised.

6.—THE COTTON FIELDS OF THE SOUTH.

The following is a very thorough discussion of the cotton question, and shows very clearly the injurious effects of an export duty and the splendid results to be derived for the cotton culture in the future:

Cotton, which has been very aptly styled the great promoter of civilization, can be more easily raised in, and the world supplied with it at a cheaper rate by this country than anywhere else on the face of the globe; for in no other land are proper soil, climate, facility of transportation—all three requisites—to be found fortuitously combined. It is true that the cotton plant can be grown in many other parts of the world, but rarely under such circumstances as to yield a profitable crop. In a tropical climate the cotton plant retains its foliage and throws out constant shoots, the results of which is, to exclude the sun and air from the bolls, and thereby to cause them to open slowly, and generally to the great damage of the cotton. The picking is also rendered more difficult. In the United States, however, and nowhere else in the world, the frost comes just at the proper time—that is, when the plant has formed ample bolls—and kills the foliage. This gives the sun and air, free access to the bolls, causing them to open readily and accomodatingly (so to speak), and thus enabling the picker to gather three times more cotton than he could if the foliage was preserved, and of a better stability too.

Heretofore in this country, cotton has been almost exclusively the product of slave labor; but, slavery having ceased to exist, we must of course, in the future, rely upon free labor. The country, so far, at any rate, as cotton is concerned, will lose nothing by the change. With free labor, properly systematized and regulated, less capital will be required to raise a given amount of cotton than with slave labor, as heretofore. Before proceeding to demonstrate the truth of this assumption, a few preliminary suggestions may be allowed.

Cotton, to be very profitable, should be cultivated on a large scale. The plantation should be of not less than from one thousand to five thousand acres. It should be provided with gins and presses, conveniently located and sufficient to insure the cotton, the moment it is dry enough, being ginned, pressed and sent to market, and converted into gold. The gin and press will be a mint, certain to coin fortunes for those interested. To provide these, of course, will require capital. Some fifty years ago, small farmers were wont to raise a few acres of cotton. They picked it slowly and sold it to speculators, who hauled it a distance of miles to a gin, where it was obliged, generally, to remain in store for a considerable time before it was ginned. The delay frequently caused the cotton retaining the seeds and stored in quantities, to become damaged. The result was, to confine the culture to large landowners and capitalists almost exclusively.

The cotton plant, it should be remembered, does not impoverish the soil. Lands where the soil is not friable and liable to be washed away by the rains in time of cultivation, can be preserved by a rotation of crops of corn and beans, one in every four or five years, for the growth of cotton to the end of time. The branches and foliage which fall from the plant, return to mother earth the invigorating principle which she has imparted to it. Cotton, unlike some other plants, does not rob the soil; it but borrows its wealth, to return it again, almost intact. Its product, then, is more lasting, if, indeed, it is not more profitable, than all the gold mines of the country. All that is required to make it so is, that we shall be able to produce it, and sell it at from fourteen to fifteen cents per pound; for at that price, the world will cease to compete with us in its production. That we can so produce and sell it, and at a large profit, is beyond question.

A plantation, say of four or five thousand acres of well cleared land, would require one hundred and fifty good field laborers. These, provided with the necessary improved implements, can raise cotton plants sufficient to yield from six to seven

million pounds of cotton, gross—that is to say, including the seeds. Three and a half pounds of cotton gross will yield one pound of cotton net,—that is divested of the seeds. To raise this crop would require the labor of the field hands for a period of about five months. For the picking of a crop raised by one hundred and fifty field laborers, the services of five hundred persons would be needed, also for about five months; and just here, is where the superiority of the free over the slave labor is more apparent. Under the slave system, the cotton grower was forced to maintain all the year round a force of laborers for whose services he had need for only a portion of the time; hence, by the free labor system, he will only have to pay for services actually needed and rendered. Besides, to pay the cotton pickers will not necessitate a draft upon his capital, for they can be compensated from the crop as it is gathered. Women and children of from fourteen to fifteen years of age can pick as much cotton as adult males—indeed, the women generally pick the most.

The laborers would thus be divided into two classes—the field hands and the pickers. The field hands might be paid forty dollars per month (a high rate of wages), during five months, and the pickers one cent per pound for all they pick; then two hundred pounds or more per day, and at one cent per pound, they would earn very handsome wages.

Based upon this calculation, the figures and the result would be as follows:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 150 field laborers, five months at \$40 per month | \$30,000 |
| 500 boys, girls, men and women to pick, after deducting rainy days, say ninety days good picking during the season, to average 150 pounds per day each 6,750,000 pounds at one cent per pound | 67,500 |
| Total expenses for labor | \$97,500 |
| 6,750,000 pounds of cotton, with the seed, at four cents per pound, gross, or at fourteen cents per pound, net | 270,000 |
| Balance | \$172,500 |

In brief, one hundred and fifty laborers can raise an amount of cotton that will realize for the producer when sold, at fourteen cents per pound, the sum of \$270,000, and leave, after paying the laborers and pickers, a balance in his favor of \$172,500. After paying all other possible expenses, what a splendid profit would remain!

For the gathering of cotton, really no cash capital is required to be provided, for the crop itself should bear the expense. Cotton picked one week, should be ginned, baled and shipped to market the next, and in that way ample means would be obtained and provided promptly to pay the pickers.

The payment of one cent per pound for the picking of cotton, would induce whole families living on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries, annually to come down to the cotton growing regions to engage in the business. They could come after their wheat and oats had been harvested—say, the 1st of September—and, remaining until December, make more money than during the whole of the other nine months on their farms. The cost of the trip down, on the steamers, especially if they took a deck passage, would be merely nominal, and they could take with them sufficient of flour and meat, to last them during the picking season. Of course, it would be necessary that the plantations be provided with proper habitations for these people during the season, and with baskets, etc., for their use in picking. The cotton, as picked, could be weighed in the field each day, and each picker be given a ticket, redeemable in money as evidence of the sum he or she had earned. The keeping of and settling of these accounts would be a very simple and easy matter.

Is there not in the fact here presented, a sufficient inducement for capitalists to invest their money in the production of cotton? Indeed, is there any other investment offering, with such absolute certainty almost, so speedy and profitable a return? New York City should commence at once with the organization of a stock company, with a capital of at least ten millions of dollars. The general government, also, should hold out every possible inducement to encourage the growth of cotton, and the selling of it at so cheap a rate as to effectually pre-

vent its production abroad. The South is now almost a waste and wilderness, and time will be required ere the ravages of the war can be repaired. Unaided by Northern capital, it cannot for years resume the culture of cotton on the scale it was carried on before the war; and not then even, if government shall impose any restrictions upon it in the shape of tax. The levying of an export duty upon cotton, as some are urging, would be unwise, for two reasons at least. It would restrain production and enhance the price. The result would be, to stimulate its production in other lands. The cotton there raised, would be of inferior quality, it is true, but it would be consumed, and the United States be deprived of so much gold. At the prices at present obtained for it, cotton can be raised with profit even in hot-houses, and we may therefore be assured, that if such prices are maintained, its production will be stimulated everywhere, even though success be but problematical. As near as could be ascertained, the annual consumption of cotton by the civilized world, was above seven million bales, or about three billions five hundred million pounds, net. This, at fifteen cents per pound, would realize the snug little sum of five hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars.

This country alone, I believe, raised in one year four millions of bales. This, added to what was then produced, caused a glut in the markets of the world, and the result was, that the price of cotton fell as low as seven and eight cents per pound. Eventually the effect was beneficial, so far as the country was concerned, for its cultivation in nearly every other land was abandoned. But the present high prices will inevitably cause the renewal of the efforts in other countries to cultivate cotton. And more especially will this be the result should our government levy a heavy export duty upon it. Fix the standard price of cotton at eighteen to twenty cents per pound—and an export duty will be sure to do it—and at that price cotton will be raised abroad to an extent sufficient to supply at least one-half the demand.

MISSOURI VINEYARDS.—Prof. Waterhouse, of St. Louis, in a series of articles demonstrating the advantages of Missouri as a home for emigrants, considers incidentally its adaptability for grape culture. He states that in Southern Missouri there are fifteen millions of acres of land, elevated from 1,000 to 1,500 feet above the sea, and with a dry and light soil, abounding in lime, soda, potash, magnesia and phosphoric acid, the chief elements entering into the structure of the grape vine. The composition of the soil is very much like that of the vine lands of Germany and France, the surface being in many places terraced, as if nature had intended it for the vine-dresser. On these broad acres a population of two millions can raise a thousand millions of gallons of wine, and the professor feels confident that Missouri is destined to be "the vineyard of America." Three hundred and fifty dollars an acre will prepare land for grape culture in Missouri, and one hundred dollars an acre spent annually will cultivate it. Two hundred and fifty gallons of wine can be produced from an acre, which, at two dollars a gallon, yield five hundred dollars.

DEPARTMENT OF FREEDMEN.

1.—THE FREEDMEN OF TENNESSEE.

Major-General O. O. Howard recently received a report from Brig.-Gen. C. B. Fisk, Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen's Affairs for the State of Tennessee, in which he states that throughout the State there is a steady advancement in good order, education, industry and justice. The superintendents, chosen generally from citizens, have earnestly and successfully labored to place the freedmen in good houses at fair wages, or a share of the crops raised. But few dependent upon the Government charity are now in the State. In December only \$520.28 were expended in subsistence to the poor. Organizations among the freedmen themselves, for the relief of their own poor, have rendered valu-

able service. The Nashville Provident Association, a society conducted by the colored people of that city, has its coal and wood depots, soup houses, physicians, &c. The Legislature has, by recent enactment, admitted colored persons to the rights of suitors and witnesses in the courts of the State, and the law will become operative at an early date. Preparations are being made for vigorous industry in the coming year, fences are being rebuilt, plantations stocked, and a general determination manifested to redeem the waste places, repair the desolation of war, and again place the Commonwealth on the high road to prosperity.

2.—THE FREEDMEN IN GEORGIA.

E. B. Adams, a Special Agent of the American Union Commission, after a recent trip through Georgia, reports as follows to the Association:

"There are in Georgia about half a million of negroes, every one of whom deserves pity and aid. As a class they appear to be idle, vagrant, thieving and licentious. They congregate about cities in hosts. A great many live on the resources of the Bureau for Refugees and Freedmen, a great many on small short jobs and pilfering, a few on constant, manly labor. On such material General Tillson, Assistant Commissioner for Georgia, has been working. His success speaks well for the negro, well for the people of Georgia, and well for himself. Under his regime, the negroes are improving, the white people are becoming conciliated, and the perplexing question of labor reorganization is finding a speedy solution. Through curiosity to form an independent idea of the race, I used often to question them on various subjects. I found their general idea of freedom to be, naturally enough, idleness and license. I found their general idea of a suffrage to be very crude and indistinct. I found, among them, a real desire to study and learn. The sentiment of the people toward the negro is not one of love; nor indeed is it one of hatred. I have conversed with many who were formerly slaveholders. They universally concede to him actual freedom, and cheerfully maintain that economy prompts this feeling. I have yet to hear one say that he is sorry slavery is abolished. Aside from the fact of losing property, they claim that the relief from the care and expense of their support is a greater good than their services in the same length of time. There appears to be no reasonable ground for the statement that the South would desire to reinstate slavery, if they had to purchase anew the slaves. Entertaining this view, the people, as a whole, appear to observe a great indifference toward the projects for negro development and protection. There appears to be no inclination on their part to assume any care of the negro, either mental or physical. They bury him when dead, not, however, for respect to his person, but to remove the nuisance. There is, however, a commendable anxiety on the part of the religious societies of the State for his spiritual welfare, and they do as much as reasonable men could expect. Plans, properly conducted, for his elevation, by people of the North, will receive the sympathy of this last class, and probably will not incur the detestation of any. The very bitterest say: "You have brought them into their present condition—now take care of them; make men of them if you can."

3.—THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND THE FREEDMEN.

W. H. Trescott, of South Carolina, has written a series of letters in review of the action of the Freedmen's Bureau which are very interesting and instructive. What he says of the results so far of this experiment in his State are worthy of extract:

"In considering the present relation between the former owner and the freedman, there is one fact which it seems impossible for Northern statesmen either to understand or to believe, and that is, the unanimity and honesty with which the Southern slaveholders have accepted emancipation. And yet it is easily explained. In the first place, the progress of the United States armies discovered to every thinking man (and where pecuniary interests are concerned most men think) the weakness of that sort of property. It was "riches which take to

themselves" feet and walk away. The mere approach of an army broke up whole estates, ruined large fortunes, and, even after their withdrawal, left labor so disorganized that years of peace could scarcely guarantee its restoration; and with the failure of the Confederacy all possibility of its maintenance disappeared. Again, the events of the war had compelled such a relaxation of the old discipline, the necessity of organizing the negroes into troops, which was recognized just previous to Gen. Lee's surrender, satisfied the slaveholders that, even with success, the institution had to undergo very large modifications; and we think we may safely say that no large and intelligent slaveholder expected to maintain slavery as it existed before the war. But, in the third place, there was an universal recognition of the admirable fidelity with which the negroes had conducted themselves during the war. In the absence of their masters, with great relaxation in their usual discipline, with temptation, nay, with diabolic provocation to crime in many instances, they had remained faithful, protecting the families, feeding the armies, and tilling the soil of the Confederacy. They heard of the freedom which was coming. But there was no impatience, no insubordination, no violence. They waited patiently the appointed time; and when that time came the masters recognized it. It is true that we would have preferred to settle this question ourselves, for we believed that we best understood its conditions; but with us it was so involved with other questions—with security of debts, family settlements, pecuniary and business relations—that it was felt that some such crisis alone could solve it. And when the crisis did come, it found the master prepared to meet it, and to meet it in a spirit of kindness to his former slave. No one will deny that there were cases where old prejudices were hard to conquer, where the new freedom excited to insolence, and where, in consequence, there were sometimes instances of unjust violence on both sides. But, as a general rule, this revolution—a revolution unparalleled in its radical change—was effected with less disturbance of interests, and less malignity of feeling, than has ever been exhibited in the history of social and political change. In the lower part of the State, the slaves who remained upon the plantations, and they were the great majority, have been free since the invasion and occupation of the seacoast. In the upper part of the State they have been practically free only since the surrender of the Confederate armies. We will speak of the upper country first, but of both we speak from practical experience. Where they had not been affected by the presence of colored troops, whose appearance has been a sure prelude to disaffection and disorder, they received their freedom quietly and soberly. Their conduct was orderly, and they remained pretty steadily at work on the farms with their former masters, a very general disposition being manifested to adjust the terms of compensation upon a reasonable basis. If this state of things had remained undisturbed, one great advantage would have followed. The profits of planting in this section having been derived hitherto chiefly from the increase of the negroes, and this being stopped by the destruction of their character as property, the large planters would, at the close of 1865, have reduced their agricultural force and have lost all inducements to the further purchase of land. The small farmers would thus have been enabled to hire two or three freedmen apiece. This small force they could feed abundantly, clothe comfortably, and pay fairly. The freedmen would have been doing well, and the farmer enabled to plant more, make more, and as lands came into market, purchase, free from the unequal competition of large slaveholders. Working in the field themselves with their hired laborer, as they habitually do, this labor would have been directed with energy and economy, and the country improved, as it always is improved by the existence of a class of moderate, thrifty and independent landowners. But this state of things did not continue. The presence, throughout the winter, of colored troops, the persistent teachings of the Bureau, which, after the surrender, spread rapidly all over the state, induced the negro to believe that the lands of the white man were to be divided among them. The condition of things in and about Beaufort, the doings and sayings of General Saxton, "the Deliverer," as he was called, were exaggerated by ignorance, often by intention. The low-country negroes who had been carried into the interior, insisted upon returning to receive their

shares of their old homes. The up-country negro became dissatisfied. He could not understand, why land should be given only to the freedman in certain localities. He did not believe it, and he refused to make contracts upon the ground that, after Christmas or New Year's day, lands would be given to all freedmen throughout the State, or he refused wages, and proposed to go where better fortunes was assured him. Of course this feeling produced discontent, impatience, and insubordination, irritation on both sides, which became more mischievous the more it was prolonged. Certain it is, that in this section, on many farms black labor was abandoned, places being leased in small homesteads to white labor exclusively; and the opportunity for an increased field of enterprise for moderate white labor, and an improved condition for black, which might easily have been secured, has been lost by this unnecessary and unnatural disturbance of their proper relations.

In the rice region of the low country, where the negroes were collected in very large numbers, where freedom came in most cases as the result of armed invasion, where there had been no concentration of a large military force, controlled by discipline, and teaching by example that liberty is not license, the insubordination was very great; and although within the control of the Bureau, and included in the lines of General Sherman's order, they had been left very much to their own devices. It would scarcely be an exaggerated description, then or now, to say that they were an idle, drunken, armed and defiant mob.

In the long-staple section of the state, the condition of things was somewhat different. The negroes in this section had enjoyed their liberty for three or four years, on account of its early military occupation, and were more accustomed to it. Owing to the general absence of their former masters, they had none of the disputes as to relative rights which occurred elsewhere. At Beaufort and Hilton Head there were organized, at an early period, large civil and military establishments, which not only enforced order, but encouraged and directed the industry of great numbers of the new freedmen, and some systematic effort had been made for their education. Insubordination and theft were earlier checked here than elsewhere, and the power of the Government had been more constantly present. We think it just to say, from personal observation, that the better class of freedmen were improved, doing better and working more steadily than we expected. About Beaufort and Hilton Head there was an amount of vice and vagabondage incompatible with the interest of any well ordered and permanent society; but this would probably, by the operation of general causes, be extinguished. In the country, many of the freedmen were trying honestly to support themselves, and showing an advance, both in alertness of intellect and habits of thrift, while their conduct to such of their former masters as had returned to visit them, was marked, universally, by courtesy and kindness. If this be due to General Saxton's presence, let all credit be given him for it. But here we must stop. The country itself, one of the most highly cultivated portions of the globe five years ago, had rapidly and hopelessly degenerated. The culture was miserable, and no effort has been made, or was being made, to improve or maintain the soil by manures. There was no animal power, no systematic labor. The provision crop of 1865 will not feed the people until the spring of 1866. The cotton crop has been a signal failure. And yet, in many cases, the freedmen were working for themselves, on lands of their former masters—lands for which, as we understood them, they paid no rent, and which had formerly been improved at very heavy expenditure; and the laborers themselves were above the average, both as to character and industry."

DEPARTMENT OF MISCELLANY.

1.—THE UNITED STATES IN 1860.

The last Census of the United States which was taken preceded immediately the breaking out of civil war, and will therefore be an interesting point of comparison with those which are to come hereafter.

The readers of the REVIEW will desire to preserve the results for constant reference.

POPULATION 1860.

| STATES. | White. | Slave. | Total In- cluding free col. | STATES. | White. | Slave. | Total in- cluding free col. |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| Alabama..... | 526,491 | 435,090 | 964,201 | Pennsylvania..... | 2,849,266 | ..... | 2,906,115 |
| Arkansas..... | 394,191 | 111,115 | 435,455 | Rhode Island..... | 170,665 | ..... | 174,620 |
| California..... | 361,353 | ..... | 395,439 | South Carolina..... | 291,585 | 402,406 | 703,705 |
| Connecticut..... | 451,620 | ..... | 466,147 | Tennessee..... | 536,782 | 275,719 | 1,106,891 |
| Delaware..... | 90,680 | 1,790 | 112,216 | Texas..... | 421,294 | 162,566 | 604,215 |
| Florida..... | 77,748 | 61,745 | 140,425 | Virginia..... | 1,047,411 | 490,865 | 1,606,618 |
| Georgia..... | 591,685 | 462,198 | 1,157,855 | Vermont..... | 814,852 | ..... | 815,095 |
| Illinois..... | 1,704,829 | ..... | 1,717,951 | Wisconsin..... | 774,710 | ..... | 775,581 |
| Indiana..... | 1,339,090 | ..... | 1,350,423 | | | | |
| Iowa..... | 673,844 | ..... | 674,943 | | 26,705,157 | 8,950,805 | 81,149,581 |
| Kansas..... | 106,579 | 9 | 1,07,206 | | | | |
| Kentucky..... | 919,517 | 228,483 | 1,155,634 | TERRITORIES. | | | |
| Louisiana..... | 357,629 | 581,726 | 708,002 | Colorado..... | 54,231 | ..... | 54,277 |
| Maine..... | 626,592 | ..... | 628,279 | | | | 54,261 |
| Maryland..... | 515,915 | 57,159 | 687,049 | Dakota..... | 2,575 | ..... | 2,576 |
| Massachusetts..... | 1,221,464 | ..... | 1,231,066 | Nebraska..... | 25,750 | 15 | 25,841 |
| Michigan..... | 743,314 | ..... | 749,113 | Nevada..... | 6,812 | ..... | 6,837 |
| Minnesota..... | 173,596 | ..... | 173,855 | New Mexico..... | 52,924 | ..... | 52,970 |
| Mississippi..... | 353,901 | 436,631 | 791,805 | Utah..... | 40,214 | 29 | 40,273 |
| Missouri..... | 1,069,599 | 114,931 | 1,182,012 | | | | 4296 |
| New Hampshire..... | 325,579 | ..... | 326,078 | Washington..... | 11,138 | ..... | 11,163 |
| New Jersey..... | 646,689 | 18 | 672,085 | Val of Columbia | 60,764 | 3,135 | 75,080 |
| New York..... | 3,831,780 | ..... | 3,850,735 | | | | |
| North Carolina..... | 631,700 | 381,050 | 992,632 | | | | |
| Ohio..... | 2,302,888 | ..... | 2,389,502 | | | | |
| Oregon..... | 52,837 | ..... | 53,465 | | 26,975,575 | 8,933,760 | 81,443,821 |

NOTE.—Arizona has been taken from New Mexico and Idaho from Dakota, etc., since the census of 1860, and formed into new Territories.

2.—VAST RESOURCES OF TENNESSEE.

We have no doubt of the magnified future which is open to Tennessee, when the era of good feeling is restored, and the angry passions which rule the hour have subsided. To bring about this happy result, we shall co-operate heartily with our fellow citizens. Nashville and Memphis will then take place among the proudest emporiums of the country, and will attract a dense and wealthy population. Already, Memphis is advancing with great rapidity, and a recent spirit of manufacturing enterprise awaking in Nashville, gives much encouragement for her future. The *Nashville Dispatch* says with truth of the resources of the State :

Not one of the thirty-six States now composing this grand imperial Republic, nor of the thirty odd yet to be formed from its present and future domain, unite within an equal area industrial resources so rich and so varied as does our goodly State. The political and military renown of Tennessee has long since earned for it, the title of GREAT—an epithet which we have within a few weeks past noticed, freely applied to it, by both American and British papers. In these respects, we have a national and European fame. Not least among the rulers of America has it long been, and is likely to be, our proud, yet just boast. Equally high will be our rank in the annals of national prosperity, unless the gifts of nature are marred by unwise human interference.

The space of a single editorial is hardly sufficient for a bare summary of the principal features which, combined, furnish so rich and so remarkable a whole. The peculiar point is this, there is scarcely a great national staple which Tennessee is not capable of producing in a notable degree, and that the same remark cannot be made of any other State with equal force. To her mother, North Carolina, and to her daughter, Arkansas, it is alone applicable.

The geographical position and the geological formation of Tennessee are such as to bring about the singular result, that, with the exception of rice, sugar and turpentine, all the great staples of commerce may in large quantities be procured within her limits. In West and Middle Tennessee, cotton has long been the great staple; and, as Gov. Brownlow proves in his able Message, will long continue such. The wheat of East and Middle Tennessee, has for years ranked in the New York market, as equal to the best. The tobacco of the northern

counties has, time out of mind, been a rich mine of wealth. Maize, our commercial prince, upon which more than on any other single article our prosperity has been founded, will for all coming time, make us renowned for pork, beef and old Robertson. Wool equal to any in the world has been grown in Tennessee to the high renown of the successful producer. In fine horses and cattle, Sumner and other counties have made rapid advances in the fair fame of Kentucky. The opposite side of the State furnishes gold, and the Ocoee district, for aught known to the country, may yet figure conspicuously among auriferous regions. When we turn our eyes to the east—to the Switzerland of America—underneath the soil, the geologist discovers scenes as richly variegated, as gorgeously beautiful, as does the poet above. Zinc, the telegraphic metal—the demand for which, increases with every mile of telegraph, terrestrial or submarine—long since attracted the notice of the late eminent geologist, Troost. Marble, in richness and variety unsurpassed, as attested by our National Capitol, there abounds. Copper, commercially the cousin of gold and silver, is demonstrated to exist in inexhaustible quantities. The iron of East as well as other portions of Tennessee, has long ranked it among the great iron States, and very high at that. Coal, without which no great manufacturing community can thrive, underlies in rich abundance our mountain plateaus. And now when a new and wonderful product of the earth's bowels attracts the attention of the commercial and scientific world, geology shows that the narrow strip of territory most likely to reward the search after petroleum extends clear across the State from North to South. Hastily have we glanced at a few salient points in our brief and imperfect view of the material resources of Tennessee. To the development and fruition of these brilliant heritages, capital and confidence are indispensable. Nature has done enough for us. Let our rulers do a little.

3.—FRENCH ENTERPRISE IN VIRGINIA.

If we are not very much mistaken, the arrangements which have recently been completed in Virginia by Messrs. Bellot des Minieres and Company, will do more to "restore the prestige of the Latin races in America," than twenty Maximilians. These French capitalists, who are proprietors of vast tracts of land in the Old Dominion, including extensive coal and iron fields, have succeeded at last, in obtaining a charter from both the Virginia legislatures, entitling them to complete the James river and Kanawha canal; that property having passed into their hands by transfer from original corporation. By means of this great work the Ohio will be connected with the seaboard, and a safe, cheap and very direct communication be opened up to the West. Nor is this all. France needs coal, iron, ship timber, and these are to be found in immense quantities along the line of the proposed highway. It is the intention of the French company to avail itself of these resources, and with the active co-operation of the home government to proceed at once, as soon as the canal shall be cut through, to a systematic development of the untold mineral and agricultural wealth of the Alleghany region.

An immigration of thrifty French artisans and agriculturists, will be an essential national benefit. The skilled workmen and the peasant class of that country, are among the most industrious in the world, and their one fault, a certain narrowness of vision, which is a consequent of their poverty, and which leads them into a sort of Poor Richard Wisdom, will wear away under the sharp attrition of new circumstances. They will give and take. They will give us what is sorely needed—a careful habit of economy in the small transactions of life; and they will receive something of the national energy and breadth of ideas.

If they come in any considerable numbers, there must spring up a common feeling between the two nations, which will make war more and more impossible. The interests of both America and France lie on the side of industrial and not military glory. And the people of the latter country are well aware of this, despite the policy of Napoleon III.

We see, therefore, in the project of Messrs. Bellot des Minieres, a peace movement of gigantic proportions, and one that will be very helpful toward a wise solution of the diplomatic difficulties now existing.—*N. Y. Post.*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

THE Editor of the REVIEW, having been summoned as a witness before the *Reconstruction Committee of Congress*, testified very fully on the subject of the general condition of the South, and of its fitness in every respect to be restored to its constitutional relations. The radicals and fanatics who now seek to keep the South out of the Union are the only real disunionists in the country, and have been properly denounced by the Executive. They are responsible for whatever bitterness of feeling exists, and unless a more generous policy obtains, the restoration of law and harmony must be very long postponed. The following is a very brief and condensed statement of our replies to the leading questions propounded by the Committee, arranged under their respective heads:

The South Acquiesces.—There seems to be a general, nay, universal acquiescence in the results of the war, though much dissatisfaction prevails in reference to the course pursued by Congress. The people, having fairly and honestly tried the experiment of secession, are satisfied with the result, and there is no disposition in any quarter, in any shape or form, to embarrass the United States Government, or to refrain from the performance of all the duties of citizenship. Those in favor of or opposed to secession are agreed that it is our best interest to accept what the Government has done in reference to the negro, as well as in reference to other matters.

The Freedmen's Bureau is universally complained of as a great evil to the whites as well as the blacks, and has been the cause of much heartburning and a feeling of hostility which did not exist at the time of the surrender. The hostility is not serious, and would speedily yield on the adoption of liberal measures by Congress.

Military Force.—None whatever is required at the South, except what the States themselves would furnish. Order has been completely restored.

Treatment of Union Men.—There is a prejudice against those who remained in the South and pretended fealty to it, but who now, for interested motives, set up that they were always loyal to the Union. Much deception of the kind is practised. Union men, who left the country for that

reason, and took no part in the war, are respected when they return. The prejudice never amounts to hostility, and no one would be molested in any manner on that account. I know of no exceptions. Such persons require no protection. There might be some little unkindness of look or expression towards them, and they would not expect freedom of social intercourse. No attempt would be made by any one to interfere with their personal and political rights—none whatever.

Treatment of Northern Men.—The secession men—the men who were in the war—are generally ruined, and their families destitute; and there is, for this reason, a disposition to sustain them if they undertake any business. Actual sympathy with their opinions must, of course, have its weight. On the other hand, there are many who are in flourishing business—Northern men, who came to the South during or since the war, and who conduct the most extensive and lucrative operations. The discrimination, where it exists, is merely social. At present it is well marked. I have never known it to take an offensive shape. There is coolness, reserve, but nothing more. Ladies at parties may not receive the attentions of Federal officers, yet the festivities go on in the same room, and no unpleasantness occurs. The feeling is stronger than it was. It is the result of political causes. It will wear away.

Will the South support the Union against a Foreign Power?—Many young men might be tempted to fight against the flag; but ninety-nine in the hundred of the people are sick of war, and would sustain the United States, beyond a doubt; if not from affection, at least from a conviction of the overwhelming power of the Federal Government. After the results of the late war, they would know any opposition to be hopeless. Besides, all foreign powers are hated and despised, because of their course towards the Confederacy, and would never be trusted; and none are believed to be able to cope with the United States.

Do the People expect Pay for their Slaves?—This matter is sometimes discussed, but no expectation of the kind exists. It would be difficult of discernment between slaves and other property; and the conflict between claimants would defeat any scheme. The non-slaveholders—the vast majority—would ask why pay for slaves and not pay us for our property too?

Political Elections in Future.—There are so few men on the Union side from

whom the choice could be made, and the proportion of talent and worth is so overwhelmingly on the other side, that there is but little option. Other things being equal, they would prefer men in sympathy with them. There are many and notable exceptions, and such will become more and more frequent.

Fraternity.—The country is so desolate, there is so much distress, so much want and suffering among the people of the South, that they have no time for politics. They are disposed to go to work to restore their broken fortunes. If the exciting, annoying, and irritating causes were removed, it would not be six months before the feeling between Northern and Southern men would be softened, and a restoration of harmony would be hastened. The very necessities of our condition require it. We would find Northern men bringing their capital and industry among us, and they would be welcomed. Labor and capital we must have. The negro is defective as a laborer. There was even under the old system a deficiency of labor at the South.

Treatment of the Negro.—He is not held responsible for what has happened. A kindly feeling exists towards him. The disposition is to provide for his necessities and secure his rights, and thus make him a cheerful and reliable laborer. It is believed to be the interest of the employer to do this. I know of some who provide teachers and preachers. No outside interference is necessary. This is no new matter with us. We have had free negroes in all time. There were some three hundred thousand at the South before the war, and half as many at the North. Our treatment of them was never complained of. No charges of that kind came even from the North. When I was at the head of the United States Census Office, in 1853, I compared the condition of these people in both sections, and published the results. The advantage in education and property was largely in favor of the Southern freedmen. Some of our freedmen owned large plantations and slaves; many were extensive property holders. If without outside pressure this was the case then, why not now? Why should we change? What policy, to say no more, would be subserved? We can do right now as well as then, and will do it.

Emancipation as Compared with Slavery.—If the negro works up to the former standard the present system is cheaper. It is too soon to decide whether he will work. A summer must come and go. They work very well so far generally, though the women are not disposed to field work. Upon the mere money question the South would be benefited. If we can get the labor, it will be cheaper to hire than to own the negro. A plantation could be worked with little outlay.

Effect upon the Negro.—Emancipation will prove disastrous to him. I judge that from the experience of other countries, and not from any we have yet had. I judge by his thriftless character, and disposition to crowd into the cities and towns. It is what I see all over the South. In the suburbs everywhere you will see them crowded in miserable shanties, eking out a very uncertain subsistence. The mortality among them has been frightful.

Civil Rights to the Freedman.—There is a willingness to extend every right whatever except that of suffrage. He is not thought fit to exercise that. Were he to vote his inclination would be on the side of his employer; but that might, and perhaps would, be counteracted by emissaries sent into the country. Northern men who have come to the South since the war very generally think as we do in these matters. They say they have found our experience worth more than their theories. The negro is not thought to be susceptible of much education. People rather smile at the attempt to educate them. There is no opposition to it, however. Schools for them are multiplying. Under slavery they were taught on the plantations Bible lessons, prayers, hymns, catechism, etc. The opinion is growing among us everywhere, that it will be for our interest, at least, to afford every facility of education. *That is my opinion clearly.*

Right of Secession.—I never doubted the existence of that right, but am satisfied by the results of the war, and regard it utterly useless and hopeless to assert any such right again. The event of the war was a distinct pronouncement against the exercise of the right, and a final settlement of the question. Our people are better satisfied since the experiment has been made, and have nothing to regret. They have lost everything, but not, as they think, honor.

I am perfectly satisfied that the people of the South have given up all ideas of secession. Leaders and people of all classes of opinions agree upon that subject.

Since the issue of the April numbers of the Review, we were called upon business to the Federal Capital, and remained there about two weeks. The city was crowded with visitors, but among the number only a few scattering faces from the South were to be recognized. How painfully did we recur to the past and recall the familiar faces which were once recognized on the floors of Congress and in the Departments—the Clays, Calhouns, Butlers, Hunters, Badgers, Soules, Quitmans, Bells, Breckin-

ridges, Rusks and Houstons of another day! Absent forever! Eleven States of the Union in profound peace and without a representative! Some four or five of those recently elected under the invitation of the Executive, linger about the hotels, whilst all their associates, in despair of any friendly action, have departed to their homes and constituency. We saw for a few moments, and conversed with, the President, whose sad and melancholy cast of countenance indicated how much he is called upon to suffer in his patriotic purpose to restore the Constitution, and in his *physique* were discernable enough the effects of the herculean toils and labors which attach to his position. In his noble resolves and patient efforts, he is fast looming up as one of the grandest characters in history, and may God nerve him in his hour of need. This tribute is from one who was never in the past among his friends or supporters.

We dropped in at the *Agricultural Branch* of the Patent Office, and were indebted to Townsend Glover for an inspection of the marvelous museum of agricultural products and fabrics collected and arranged by himself, which would be an honor to any country, and the courteous Chief Clerk of the *Census*, James Wilson, placed us under lasting obligations by the documents and valuable data which he presented. The reader will excuse another reference, and that is to the *Ebbitt House*, which is now, without doubt, in many respects, the most agreeable place of abode in Washington. It is in the immediate neighborhood of the Departments, and is under the management of Mr. Willard, who does everything possible to contribute to the comfort of his guests, and at a much more moderate rate than the same accommodations can be obtained at in other quarters. Our Southern friends will make a note of this.

Pass a day in *Baltimore*, and visit some large manufacturing establishments, to which reference will be had hereafter. *Baltimore* is making strenuous efforts to secure Southern trade, and her past and

present position liberally entitle her to a generous share. The whole town was much excited upon the subject of a grand fair for the benefit of Southern sufferers by the recent devastating war, and it was thought that the princely sum of \$200,000 would probably be realized. We conversed with the Chairman of the Committee on the subject. Contributions were also pouring in from the Northern cities, embracing money and every description of merchandise, and the display of such was very imposing. All honor to *Baltimore* and the noble men and women who are engaged in this holy enterprise, the particulars of which will be noted hereafter.

Take the *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* and have a very pleasant trip to Wheeling, where, in consequence of Sunday interposing, we spend a night. Thence by the way of Bell Air, crossing the Ohio we continue the trip through Columbus to Cincinnati, reaching it in good time for the cars to Louisville and Nashville, making all the connections and the entire distance pleasantly and expeditiously. This we regard to be the best route of travel to the great West.

Apprehensions are felt all over the country on account of the threatened invasion of cholera the present season, and are certainly not without foundations. With the experience of several epidemics to guide us, we should be better prepared for this. One of our exchanges discourses as follows upon the subject:

It does not, and need not, inspire the terror which it once did. Thorough cleanliness of perron and place, great care as to diet, and most particularly as to the regular action of the bowels, renders it nearly harmless. A sensible, cleanly, sober man is in little more danger from it than from the ordinary accidents of every day life. But woe to those who live like hogs, content to put themselves even below hogs!

The experience of many years teaches us that no man is carried off by cholera, without having from twelve to seventy-two hours "warning." This warning is too often fatally neglected. During the prevalence of this epidemic (for it is undeniably epidemic), the slightest warning should be at once attended to. What under ordinary circumstances may be

pronounced a mild case of summer complaint or acute diarrhoea, is, in such cases, the *avant courier* of the King of Terrors. It is prudent to keep always about the person some simple astringent, to be used with discretion—but to be used—if there seems to be any inclination to diarrhoea, whether or not local cause for the inclination can be assigned.

After testing it for fifteen years, in probably a thousand cases, we suggest to our readers to at once procure from the druggist the following simple mixture: Laudanum, 2 oz.; spirits of camphor, 2 oz.; tincture of capsicum, 2 oz.; tincture of ginger, 1 oz.; essence of peppermint, 2 oz.; Hoffman's anodyne, 2 oz. If the anodyne cannot be readily obtained, substitute sulphuric acid. Mix thoroughly, and shake well every time it is used. Give or take from ten to twenty-five drops, according to age, condition and violence of the attack. Repeat every twenty minutes until relief is obtained. In a desperate case, take a table-spoon full at once. Take it in an equal quantity of water; and lie on the back quietly or in an easy sitting posture with the back supported, till it has full opportunity to work. Carry a small phial in the pocket, with a few lumps of white sugar upon which to drop it, to be used in sudden emergencies.

First and foremost, always use plenty of soap and water.

Having returned to Nashville, we are prepared to devote our efforts earnestly to the interests of the Review, and anticipate nothing that will call us off from the undertaking for many months to come. No pains will be spared in every respect to make this work complete, and just such as will be most conducive to the general interests and welfare of the country. We invite the aid of all friends and sympathizers, not only in the literary but business departments. We invite, too, articles upon all subjects and subscribers, and shall send out many thousands of circulars and prospectuses to every part of the South, trusting that our course will be appreciated by all of the old subscribers and the entire public. Those who are indebted for past subscriptions, will make some effort to aid us in the present exigency.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

"THE PRINCIPLES OF BIOLOGY." By Herbert Spencer. Vol. I. pp. 475. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1866.

HERBERT SPENCER has earned a world-wide reputation as a deep searching reasoner. His volume on "*First Principles*," which was re-published in this country about a year ago, was intended to lay the foundation for his, in many respects, peculiar "*System of Philosophy*." The subject of "*Biology*," we are given to understand, will be treated in two volumes, to be followed successively by "*Principles of Psychology*," and "*Principles of Sociology*." The system of Spencer agrees with the theory of Development so elaborately pronounced and so ably and ingeniously defended by Darwin, in his "*Origin of Species*," to which Professor THOMAS HUXLEY has become an efficient co-laborer. Whatever the differences of scientists may be upon the intrinsic merits of the several systems, Spencer's work must be a welcome addition to all students, and all public libraries.

"A TEXT BOOK ON PHYSIOLOGY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES." By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER. 1 Vol. pp. 373. Harper & Brothers, New York. 1866.

This is an abridgment of the larger work by the same author on Human Physiology. It is copiously illustrated with wood engravings, and is arranged with questions for recitation at the bottom of each page. It is fully what the author in his preface says of it: "Suitable for use as an elementary text book in colleges and schools."

"A TEXT BOOK ON CHEMISTRY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES." By HENRY DRAPER, M. D. 1 Vol. pp. 507. Harper & Brothers, New York. 1866.

We have in this work a valuable addition to our school-book literature of a higher class. It is an enlargement upon the text book on the same subject, published by the author's father in 1846, and which has, since then, passed through some forty editions. The author's personal reputation and his position as Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in the University of New York assure an extensive sale for his book.

"INDIAN CORN, ITS VALUE, CULTURE AND USES." By EDWARD ENFIELD. 1 Vol., pp. 308. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1866.

This, we believe, is the first work ever published in this country that made Indian Corn and the ways to improve its culture its special subject. We greet it as a work long needed by agriculture, and especially in the South and Southwest, where both climate and soil are so well adapted for the cultivation of this staple.

"THE LOST TALES OF MILETER." By the RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD BULWER LYTTON, BART., M. P. One vol. pp. 162. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1866.

Of course, everything from the pen of this celebrated writer, finds enthusiastic admirers. The refined and the educated will assuredly need no recommendation from us, of this last work of the literary Baronet. The form, we must say, it is rather quaint, being rhymeless metre, such as Horace adopted for his odes. And yet it has been masterly adapted to the peculiarities of our language, or rather our language has been ingeniously adapted to the rhythm.

"A CHILD'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES." Vol. III. part 2d. HISTORY OF THE GREAT REBELLION. By John Bonner. Pp. 267. Harper and Brothers, 1866.

We sincerely hope, that this book will find its way into no American household where love of country, and all the sections and all the people of it, is still cherished at heart. This book is a bold attempt to destroy it all, and is, therefore, severely reprehensible. Now, that the way should be bellevell for feelings of mutual regard and esteem and the common patriotic support of a re united country, the vulgar Billingsgate expressions of brutal sentiments of hatred and revenge, so common during the heated days of war, are utterly out of place.

The Tillers of the Sea. By Victor Hugo; Harper and Brothers. The simple announcement of a work from this author, is sufficient. The novel reader will find a feast in the work.

Walter Goring. By Annie Thomas; Harper and Brothers. A very interesting and pleasant story.

Adventures of Reuben Davidger. Illustrated. By James Greenwood; Harper and Brothers. This work may be made an excellent companion for Robinson Crusoe, and other such wonderful tales of sea and land.

The Story of Kenneth. By Bayard Taylor; G. P. Putnam, Hurd and Houghton, New York. The wide-spread reputation of the author of "Kenneth," insures its ready sale and welcome reception to the American reader.

Please note directions on the 4th page of Cover to subscribers, postmasters and Agents, and will all the friends of the REVIEW aid the Editor in re-establishing the work upon its former flourishing foundation?

The address of the Editor will be permanently at Nashville, Tenn.

Articles upon the condition and property of the South, and upon the workings of emancipation, are solicited.

The Office of the REVIEW at Nashville, and the Branch Office in New York, will execute orders upon receipt of the funds, with small commissions, for any articles of Southern or Northern manufacture advertised in its pages, or any other articles which may be required by planters, farmers, interior dealers and others. It will also act as an agent for the sale of country estates, which upon the receipt of five or ten dollars, will be mentioned more or less fully at the close of the Editorial columns.

The following works have been received at the Office of the REVIEW since the issue of the last number, all of which will be fully and appropriately noticed in our next:

REAL AND IDEAL, by John W. Montclair, of Virginia. Philadelphia: Frederick Leypoldt, 1865.

THE APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER; a Holy League of Christian Hearts, united with the Heart of Jesus, by the Rev. H. Ramiere, of the Society of Jesus. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1866.

We clip from the *Savannah Republican*, the following in regard to the colored schools:

EXAMINATION OF THE COLORED SCHOOLS.

We accepted an invitation yesterday afternoon, to attend an examination of one of the free colored schools, which is known as the Bethlehem High School where some eighty pupils of both sexes, are under the instruction of Misses Pettibone and Marshall, two highly accomplished Northern ladies, who have volunteered their valuable services as teachers. Quite a number of Northern ladies and gentlemen visited Bethlehem Church, to witness the progress of the most advanced scholars in the colored schools, and universal astonishment was experienced by all present at the extraordinary intelligence revealed by the scholars. Notwithstanding, the school has not been opened but twelve months, the greatest proficiency was exhibited in all the elementary branches. The correctness with which the children recited lengthy dialogues, answered questions in Geography and arithmetic and orthography, were truly marvellous, while the singing was excellent. We consider the education of the colored people, one of the most important philanthropic enterprises that has ever been started, and we rejoice at the success of the great undertaking.

This is indeed a step in the right direction, and when we see the representative people of the South, moving in favor of such a humane and Christian project; it is high time that the showering of odious terms upon Northern people who are advocating and heartily co-operating in the same good cause, should cease. The safeguard of Southern Society, lies in the education of the freedmen, and obstinate indeed must be the prejudices of those who cannot foresee the deplorable results if the black race is permitted to remain in their present ignorant condition. A moment's calm reflection will convince the most skeptical that the quickest, surest and cheapest way to render the freedmen useful members of society, is to educate them up to such a standard that, they will properly appreciate the blessings of freedom, learn the laws of frugality and honesty, and the inevitable penalties that follow their violation. This is the right road to prosperity, peace and reconciliation of both races, that will again sound the hum of industry, and set the wheel of progress in motion. It is through the influence of the school-book that the bitter animosities of to-day are to be swept away forever, and we therefore welcome the advent of teachers in our midst.

DEBOW'S REVIEW ADVERTISING INDEX.

All advertisements in the Review will be regularly noted in this index. Our terms are the same as before the war, and considering the large circulation of the Review in every part of the Union, and especially in the Southern States, its limits should be occupied. Merchants and manufacturers of the South, and those having lands for sale, would do well to imitate in advertising the enterprise of Northern cities. Our pages are open to all, and it is from this source only that the Review can be made remunerative.

Advertising Agency.—G. P. Rowell & Co.
Agricultural Implements.—Machinery.—Fertilisers
—Seed, etc.—R. H. Allen & Co.; D. Landreth
& Son; Baum & Sons; Graham, Emien &
Fossomore; Elwanger & Barry; John B. Sady;
C. H. Slocomb, New Orleans; John S. Reed
& Co.; Allen & Needles.
Books.—School Books, etc.—Blelock & Co.,
New Orleans; James Potts.
Boots and Shoes.—John Slater.
Bankers.—Duncan, Sherman & Co.; E. Q. Bell.
Charleston Advertisement.—One Page.
Commission Merchants.—Dolan, Carroll & Co.;
Church, Daniels & Co.
Clocks.—James Barber.
Clothing, Shirts, &c.—Henry, Moore & Chanung;
S. N. Mosely; F. Derby & Co.; Harlan &
Co.
Dry Goods.—Butler, Brown & Clapp.
Engravers.—J. W. Orr.
Express Co.—Southern.
Fancy Goods.—C. F. A. Hinrich.
Furnishing Goods.—Windle & Co.
Grocers.—Baskerville, Sherman & Co.
Hardware.—Geo. Wolfe Bros; C. H. Slocomb.
Insurances.—Aetna Insurance Co., New York; Ac-
cidental Insurance Co.
Iron Safes.—Herring & Co.
Jewelry.—Tiffany & Co.; Ball, Black & Co.; J.
M. Bowen & Co.
Law Clerks.—W. W. Boyce; Ward & Jones.
Land Agencies.—American Land Agency, G. F.
Kroll & Co.; W. H. Quincy.
Machinery.—Steam Engines, Saw Mills, &c.—
Thomas Gannon, Jacob Schenck; Thomas B.
Rodley & Co., New Orleans; Wm. Montgum-
mery; Peole & Hunt; E. M. Ivins, New Or-
leans; John H. Haskell; Jas. A. Robinson;
J. Wyatt Reid.
Medicines.—Radway & Co.; Alcock's Porous
Plasters; Brunsdeth's Pills; Tarrant's Appri-
en; Thorn's Extract of Cupaiba, R. W.
Merwin.
Musical Instruments.—Zabbaum & Fairchild.
Organs.—Mason & Hamila.
Pianos.—Knabe & Co.
Photographers.—S. Anderson.
Scales.—Fairbanks & Co.
Straw Goods.—Bostwick, Sablin & Clark.
Stationers.—E. M. Wagener, New Orleans; Fran-
cis & Loutrel.
Sewing Machines.—Singers.
Steel.—Sandercock Brothers & Co.
Washing Machines, Wringers, &c.—Oakley &
R. Keating; C. Browning.
Yeast Powders.—B. T. Babbit.